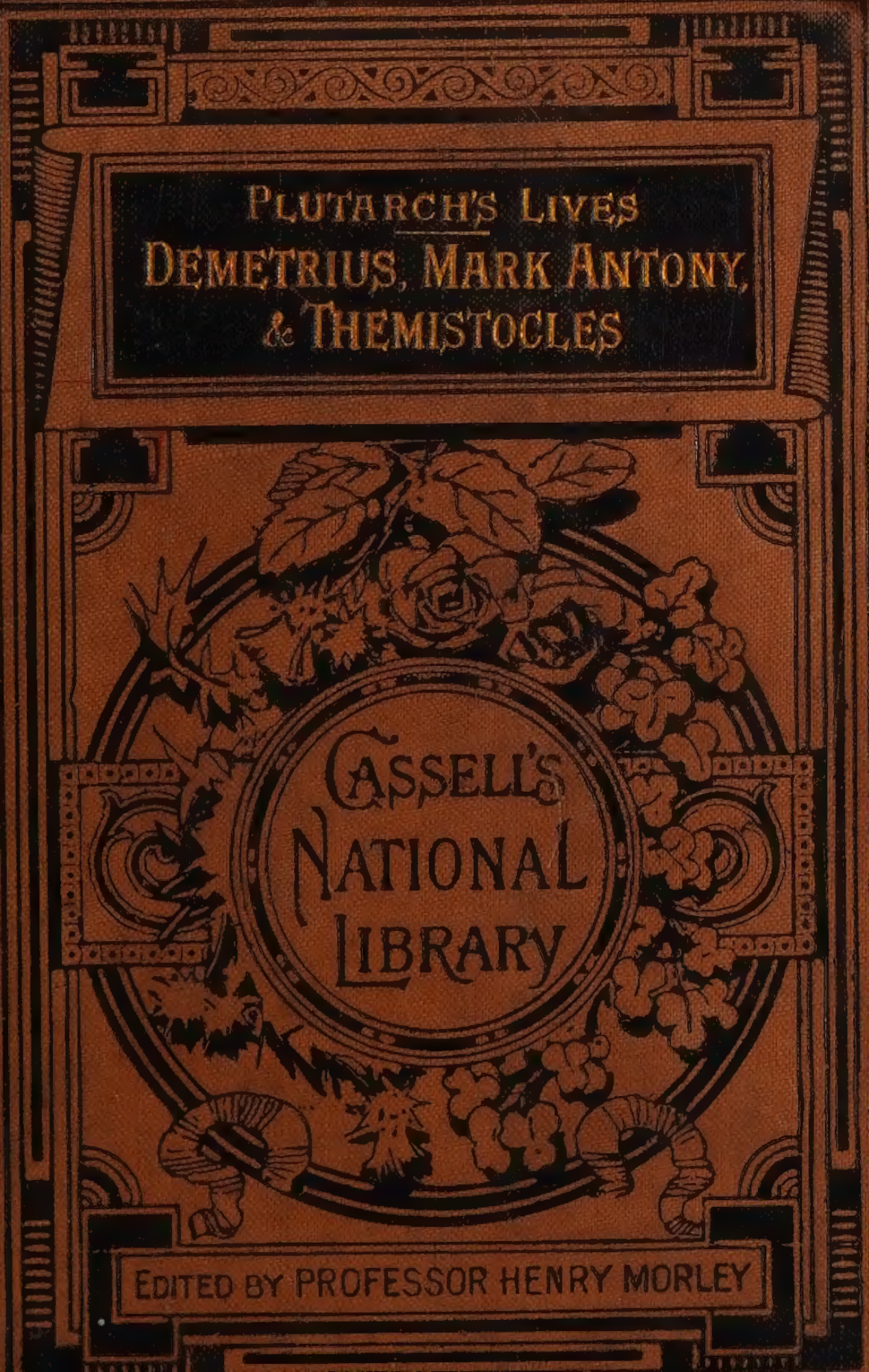
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

DEMETRIUS, MARK ANTONY, & THEMISTOCLES



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AND

THEMISTOCLES.

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DEMETRIUS, MARK ANTONY,

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TRANSLATED BY

J. & W. LANGHORNE.

CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED:

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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader may be glad of an opportunity of comparing the translation of Plutarch by Sir Thomas North with that of the Langhornes. The interest of North's translation lies in the fact that it was the earliest—first published in 1579—and that from which Shakespeare drew the material for his Roman plays. The "Life of Antony," included in the present volume, was therefore one of the sources of Shakespeare's play of *Julius Cæsar*. But Sir Thomas North translated from the French of Amyot, not from the Greek.

Amyot, born in 1513, and dying in 1593, was a living writer when his Plutarch was translated into English. He began his career as a young student in the newly-founded College of France, and was so poor that he shrank into a corner of the class-room to conceal his raggedness. He gathered all he heard into his memory and made a library of that, for he was too poor to buy books. When he had been completely seized by the spirit of the revival of letters, and was ready to give up his life to study of the Greek and

Latin authors, he went as a servant to rich men who affected learning, brushed their clothes, read their books, and wrote their Latin for them. So he became Master of Arts at Paris, and Doctor of Civil Law at Bourges. At Bourges he won the heart of a strong friend who introduced him at court, and obtained for him, through the kind influence of Marguerite of Navarre, the king's sister, a professorship of Greek and Latin in the college at which he began his studies. He translated from Greek into French the fourth-century romance of "Theagenes and Chariclea," and then began to work upon his famous translation of the Lives of Plutarch. Francis I. set him at ease with a rich benefice, and he then travelled to Italy in search of texts of Plutarch, and with the utmost zeal proceeded from completion of his translation of Plutarch's Lives, to the translation of Plutarch's moral treatises. One feature of the Renaissance was steady endeavour to make the Greek and Latin authors familiar in Europe through translation, and of this movement Amyot was the first leader, and Amyot's Plutarch the first great result.

Sir Thomas North not only translated Plutarch from the French, but he had previously translated also from Italian the Arabian fable-book called "Calilah-i-Dumnah," a moral philosophy of Sendebar, "shadowed under tales and similitudes of brute-beasts without

reason." This appeared in 1570 as "The Morall Philosophy of Doni: drawne out of the auncient writers. A worke first compiled in the Indian tongues, and afterwards reduced into divers other languages, and now lately Englished out of Italian by Tho. North, brother to the Right Hon. Sir Roger North, Knight, Lorde North of Kyrtheling." There was another edition of it in 1601.

For comparison between the styles of North and Langhorne, I give here the opening of the "Life of Antony," from North's translation:—

"Antonius' grandfather was that famous orator whom Marius slew, because he took Syllae's part. His father was another Antonius surnamed Cretan, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the commonwealth. Howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him vse his liberalitie and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to some money, hauing great neede: Antonius by chance had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bring him some water in a siluer basen, and after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he ment to haue shauen it, and then found an arrant for his man to send him out, and gaue his friend

the siluer basen, and bad him get money with that. Shortly after, there was a great sturre in the house among the seruants, seeking out this siluer basen. Insomuch as Antonius seeing his wife maruellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her seruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it, at length he confessed he had giuen it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was Julia, of the noble house and family of Julius Cæsar, who for her vertue and chastitie, was to be compared with the noblest ladie of her time. Marcus Antonius was brought vp vnder her, being married after her first husband's death, vnto Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death with Cethegus, and others, for that he was of Catiline's conspiracie against the common-wealth. And this seemeth to be the originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate Antonius bare unto Cicero. For Antonius' selfe saith, that he would neuer giue him the body of his father-in-law to bury him, before his mother went first to intreat Ciceroes wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lie. For Cicero denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now Antonius being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with Curio, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a dissolute man, giuen ouer to all lust and insolencie,

who to haue Antonius the better at his commaundement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expences vpon women, in rioting and banqueting. So that in short time, he brought Antonius into a maruellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit, of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which summe Curio was his suretie. His father, hearing of it, did put his sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with Clodius, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great sturre and mischiefe in Rome; but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of them that were bent against Clodius. Thereupon he left Italy, and went into Greece, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in warres, and otherwhile in the studie of eloquence. He vsed a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatike, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish brauerie, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there some time, Gabinius Proconsull going into Syria, perswaded him to goe with him. Antonius told him he would not goe as a priuate man. Wherefore Gabinius gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him

against Aristobulus, who had made the Jewes to rebell, and was the first man himselfe that got vp to the wall of a castle of his, and so draue Aristobulus out of all his holds, and with those few men he had with him he ouercame all the Jewes in set battle, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and, furthermore, tooke Aristobulus himselfe prisoner with his sonne."

H. M.

DEMETRIUS.

THOSE who first thought that the arts might be compared to the senses in the perception of their respective objects, appear to me to have well understood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of distinguishing contrary qualities, for this they have in common. But in the mode of distinguishing, as well as in the end of what is distinguished, they evidently differ. The senses, for instance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is sweet more than what is bitter; or what is soft and yielding more than what is hard and solid. Their office is to receive impressions from such objects as strike upon them, and to convey those impressions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational; they are not, like the senses, passive in their perceptions; they choose or reject what is proper or improper; what is good they attend to primarily and intentionally, and what is evil only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus the art of medicine considers the nature of diseases, and music that of discordant sounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the most excellent of all arts, temperance, justice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, just, and useful, but also of what is pernicious, disgraceful, and unjust. These arts bestow no praise on that innocence which boasts of an entire ignorance of vice. In their reckoning, it is rather an

absurd simplicity to be ignorant of those things, which every man that is disposed to live virtuously should make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans, at their feasts, used to compel the helots to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to show the young men what drunkenness was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt some of the species in order not to corrupt others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss to insert among the rest of the lives a few examples of those who have abused their power to the purposes of licentiousness, and whose elevation has only made their vices greater and more conspicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleasure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the same motive with Ismenias the Theban musician, who presented his scholars both with good and bad performers on the flute, and used to say, "Thus you must play," and "Thus you must not play." And Antigenidas observed, "That young men would hear able performers with much greater pleasure after they had heard bad ones." In like manner, according to my opinion, we shall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and infamous.

In this book, therefore, we shall give the lives of Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, and of Antony the triumvir—men who have most remarkably verified that observation of Plato, "That great parts produce great vices, as well as virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women, both excellent soldiers, and persons of great munificence: but, at the same time, prodigal and insolent. There was the same resemblance in their

fortune, for, in the course of their lives, they met both with great success and great disappointments; now extending their conquests with the utmost rapidity, and now losing all; now falling beyond all expectation, and now recovering themselves when there was as little prospect of such a change. This similarity there was in their lives, and in the concluding scene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near sharing the same fate.

Antigonus having two sons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corræus, called the one after his brother, Demetrius, and the other after his father, Philip. So most historians say. But some affirm that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother soon after marrying Antigonus, he was, on that account, considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and mien were so inimitable, that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity, and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired, at the same time, both pleasure and awe. In his hours of leisure, a most agreeable companion; in his table, and every species of entertainment, of all princes the most delicate; and yet, when business called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and despatch. In which respect he imitated Bacchus most of all the gods, since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with

peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and in the respect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Demetrius, happening to come from hunting when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their answer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention, too, the happy terms upon which I am with my son." By which he gave them to understand that the harmony and confidence in which they lived added strength to the kingdom and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to say that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these evils. Of all the descendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *postulatum* in geometry, it was considered as indisputably necessary to the safety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well-disposed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendship the following is a proof. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was of the same age, and his constant companion. He was likewise one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an un-

blemished character. Yet Antigonus conceived some suspicion of him from a dream. He thought he entered a large and beautiful field, and sowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the same precious metal; but coming a little after to visit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the stalks. As he was in great distress about his loss, he heard some people say that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and was gone with it towards the Euxine Sea.

Disturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his son, having first made him swear to keep it secret, and, at the same time, informed him of his absolute determination to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as usual, that they might pursue their diversions together, he durst not speak to him on the subject, because of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aside from the rest of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground with the bottom of his spear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man, understanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished the dream of Antigonus, for Mithridates conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, and was at last destroyed by the Romans. This is a sufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well-inclined to justice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the sources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly such as touch or approach each other, so among the successors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the most violent when inflamed by the opposition of interest, or vicinity of place. This was the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus,

while he resided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country and reducing the cities either by solicitation or force. Upon this he sent his son Demetrius against him, though he was only twenty-two years of age, and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza, five thousand of his men were killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tents, his military chest, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends, adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not long be Ptolemy's debtor, but soon have it in his power to return the favour." Nor was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a miscarriage in his first essay. On the contrary, like a complete general, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies and providing arms. He kept the cities to their duty, and exercised the troops he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprised how the battle went, he said, "Ptolemy has, indeed, beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men." However, as he did not choose to repress the spirit of his son, on his request he gave him permission to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt on account of his late defeat.

But Demetrius, by a sudden attack, struck his adversaries with such a panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give; nor so much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him as its enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he consulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, loaded Cilles and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria, and Antigonus marched down from Celænæ, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being sent to subdue the Nabathæan Arabs, found himself in great danger by falling into a desert country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, astonished at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a considerable booty, amongst which were seven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus, but he had recovered it by his own arms, and was now marching with his main army to reduce the nations which bordered upon India and the provinces about Mount Caucasus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unguarded, suddenly passed the Euphrates and fell upon Babylon. There were two strong castles in that city; but by this manœuvre in the absence of Seleucus he seized one of them, dislodged the garrison, and placed there seven thousand of his own men. After this, he ordered the rest of his soldiers to plunder the country for their own use, and then returned to the sea-coast. By these proceedings he left Seleucus better established in

his dominions than ever; for his laying waste the country seemed as if he had no further claim to it.

In his return through Syria he was informed that Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus; upon which he hastened to its relief and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to succour the distressed gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a strong desire to rescue all Greece from the slavery it was held in by Cassander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more just and honourable war, for they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conquest of the barbarians for the advantage of the Greeks, solely with a view to the honour that such an enterprise promised.

When they had resolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends advised Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it, as the key of Greece; but that prince would not listen to him. He said, "The best and securest of all keys was the friendship of the people, and that Athens was the watch-tower of the world, from whence the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In consequence of these resolutions, Demetrius sailed to Athens with five thousand talents of silver and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius, the Phalerean, governed the city for Cassander, and had a good garrison in the fort of Munychia. His adversary, who managed the affair both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piræus on the 25th of May. The town had no information of his approach; and when they saw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such. But at last the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion followed which was natural when an enemy came unexpected and was already landing. For Demetrius,

finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his father, Antigonus, in a happy hour, he hoped, for Athens, had sent him to reinstate them in their liberties, by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the proposal with loud acclamations, desired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius, the Phalerean, and his partisans thought it necessary to receive a man who came with such a superior force, though he should perform none of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and sent back with them Aristodemus, the Milesian, a friend of his father's. At the same time he was not unmindful of Demetrius, the Phalerian, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but, out of regard to his character and virtue, sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians that, however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure till he had set it entirely free by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

On his arrival, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ, and had a desire to see him; in consequence of which he left his forces in the territory of

Megara, and with a few light horse took the road to Patræ. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy, getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm he had only time to throw over him a mean cloak, and in that disguise saved himself by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it with all the riches it contained.

After Megara was taken the soldiers prepared to plunder it, but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed; Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions, he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life. He sent for him and asked him, "Whether they had taken anything from him?" "No," said Stilpo, "I found none that wanted to steal any knowledge." The soldiers, however, had clandestinely carried off almost all the slaves. Therefore, when Demetrius paid his respects to him again on leaving the place, he said, "Stilpo, I leave you entirely free." "True," answered Stilpo, "for you have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia, dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress; after which the Athenians pressed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having assembled the people, he re-established the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy fifteen years after it was dis-

solved. During the interval, after the Lamian war and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but in fact was monarchical ; for the power of Demetrius, the Phalerean, met with no control.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens ; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him ; for they were the first who gave him and his father, Antigonus, the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiously avoided, and which was, indeed, the only thing left the descendants of Philip and Alexander, uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors ; and instead of denominating the year as formerly from the archon, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods ; they consecrated the place where their patron first alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to Demetrius Catabates. They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them Demetrias and Antigonis ; in consequence of which the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, was to consist of six hundred ; for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whose inventions these wise compliments were, thought of a stroke still higher. He procured a decree that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be called ambassadors, but Theori, a title which had been appropriated to those who, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most

daring effrontery and the most debauched life, insomuch that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress called Phylacium, and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, "Why, how now! you have provided us just such things to eat as we statesmen use for tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the sea-fight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and passing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered, and meat distributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home, and the people, in great anger, calling him to answer for the imposition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult with the most consummate assurance, and said, "What harm have I done you in making you merry for two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagances, "hotter than fire itself," as Aristophanes expresses it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in servility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he visited Athens, should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus, and that whoever exceeded the rest in the splendour and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, should have money out of the treasury to enable him to set up some pious memorial of his success. These instances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month Munychion to Demetrion, with calling the last day of every month Demetrias, and the Dionysia or feasts of Bacchus, Demetria.

The gods soon showed how much they were offended at these things, for the veil in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus, along with those of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the Ceramicus, was rent asunder by a sudden storm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of those princes, though it is a plant seldom found in that country. On the day when the Dionysia were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a stop to the procession by the excessive cold, which came entirely out of season, and there fell so strong a hoar frost that it blasted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence, Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies :—"Who was the wicked cause of our vines being blasted by the frost, and of the sacred veil's being rent asunder? He who transferred the honours of the gods to men; it is he, not comedy, that is the ruin of the people." Philippides enjoyed the friendship of Lysimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. Nay, whenever Lysimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he considered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great business or important expedition. Besides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over-officious, like those who are bred in a court. One day Lysimachus called to him in the most obliging manner, and said, "What is there of mine that you would share in?" "Anything," said he, "but your secrets." I have purposely contrasted these characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned was the decree proposed by Dromoclides the Sphet-

tian, according to which they were to consult the oracle of Demetrius as to the manner in which they were to dedicate certain shields at Delphi. It was conceived in these terms :—"In a fortunate hour be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god protector and, after due sacrifices offered, demand of Demetrius, the god protector, what will be the most pious, the most honourable and expeditious method of consecrating the intended offerings. And it is hereby enacted that the people of Athens will follow the method dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incense to his vanity, who was scarcely in his senses before, they rendered him perfectly insane.

During his stay at Athens he married Eurydice, a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, who was the widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city, though Demetrius made no sort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the same time. Of all his wives he paid most respect to Phila, because she was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the successors of Alexander, was most regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young when his father persuaded him to marry her, though she was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was disinclined to the match, Antigonus is said to have repeated to him that verse of Euripides, with a happy parody :—

> "When Fortune spreads her stores, we yield to marriage
> Against the bent of nature"—

only putting "marriage" instead of "bondage." However, the respect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other

wives, was not of such a nature but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, as well slaves as freeborn women, and was more infamous for his excesses of that sort than any other prince of his time.

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war against Ptolemy, and he found it necessary to obey him; but as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece, which was so much more advantageous in point of glory, he sent to Cleonides, who commanded for Pompey in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary consideration on condition that he would set those cities free. Cleonides not accepting the proposal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops and sailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himself soon after made his appearance with a great number of land forces, and a considerable fleet; on which occasion several menacing and haughty messages passed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart before he collected all his forces and trod him under foot, and Demetrius said he would let Ptolemy go if he would promise to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awaked the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for, besides the uncertainty of the event, so much depended upon it that the conqueror would not be master of Cyprus and Syria alone, but superior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ships, and he had ordered Menelaus, with sixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in disorder by falling on his rear. Against these sixty ships Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, for that number was sufficient to block up the mouth of the

harbour. His land forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adversary with a hundred and eighty ships. This he did with so much impetuosity, that Ptolemy could not stand the shock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ships only, which were all that he saved; for seventy were taken with their crews, and the rest were sunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his servants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were stationed near the fleet in transports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among these was the celebrated Lamia, who at first was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtesan. By this time her beauty was on the wane, yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that, though other women had a passion for him, he could only think of her.

After the sea-fight, Menelaus made no further resistance, but surrendered Salamis with all the ships, and the land forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse and twelve thousand foot.

This victory, so great in itself, Demetrius rendered still more glorious by generosity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and setting the prisoners free. He selected twelve hundred complete suits of armour from the spoils, and bestowed them on the Athenians. Aristodemus, the Milesian, was the person he sent to his father with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldest flatterer, and, on the present occasion, he designed to outdo himself. When he arrived on the coast of Syria from Cyprus, he would not suffer the ship to make land, but

ordering it to anchor at a distance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat and went on shore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonus, who was watching for the event of this battle with all the solicitude that is natural to a man who has so great a concern at stake. As soon as he was informed that the messenger was coming, his anxiety increased to such a degree that he could scarce keep within his palace. He sent his officers and friends, one after another, to Aristodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought; but, instead of giving any of them an answer, he walked on with great silence and solemnity. The king, by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Aristodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he stretched out his hand and cried aloud, "Hail to King Antigonus! We have totally beaten Ptolemy at sea; we are masters of Cyprus, and have made sixteen thousand eight hundred prisoners." Antigonus answered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! but I will punish you for torturing us so long. You shall wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the first time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He sent one to Demetrius, and in the letter that accompanied it addressed him under the style of king. The Egyptians, when they were apprised of this circumstance, gave Ptolemy likewise the title of king, that they might not appear to be dispirited with their late defeat. The other successors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandise themselves. Lysimachus took the diadem, and Seleucus did the same in his transactions with the Greeks. The

latter had worn it some time when he gave audience to the barbarians. Cassander alone, while others wrote to him and saluted him as king, prefixed his name to the letters in the same manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions; it introduced a pompousness into their manners, and self-importance into their discourse; just as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment and manner of address. After this they became more severe in their judicial capacity; for they laid aside that dissimulation with which they had concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their subjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do; such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world!

Antigonus, elated with his son's achievements at Cyprus, immediately marched against Ptolemy, commanding his land forces in person, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coast. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At first he seemed to run with great swiftness and force, but afterwards his strength gradually abated, and, on turning, he became very weak, and drew his breath with such pain, that he could scarce recover himself. Accordingly Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered such a storm at sea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable shore. In this storm he lost many of his ships, and returned without effecting anything.

Antigonus was now little short of eighty; and his great size and weight disqualified him for war, still more

than his age. He therefore left the military department to his son, who by his good fortune, as well as ability, managed it in the happiest manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his son's debaucheries, his expensive appearance, or his long carousals ; for these were the things in which Demetrius employed himself in time of peace with the utmost licentiousness and most unbounded avidity. But in war, no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in sobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came after some expedition or other to salute his father, and kissed him so cordially, that he laughed and said, "Surely, my son, you think you are kissing Lamia." Once when he had been spending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excused himself at his return to court by saying, "That he had been hindered by a defluxion." "So I heard," said Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from Thasos or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indisposed, he went to see him ; and when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and sitting down by him took hold of his hand. Demetrius said his fever had now left him. "I know it," said Antigonus, "for I met it this moment at the door." With such mildness he treated his son's faults out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the custom of the Scythians in the midst of their carousals to strike the strings of their bows, to recall, as it were, their courage which is melting away in pleasure. But Demetrius one while gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and another while to business ; he did not inter mix them. His military talents, therefore, did not suffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he seemed to show greater abilities in his prepara-

tions for war than in the use of them. He was not content unless he had stores that were more than sufficient. There was something peculiarly great in the construction of his ships and engines, and he took an unwearied pleasure in the inventing of new ones; for he was ingenious in the speculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taste and knowledge of those arts to the purposes of diversion, or to pursuits of no utility, such as playing on the flute, painting, or turning.

Æropus, King of Macedon, spent his hours of leisure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus, surnamed Philometer, amused himself with planting poisonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium. These he cultivated in the royal gardens, and besides gathering them at their proper seasons, made it his business to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the Kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and sharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always something great in the fabric; together with a spirit of curiosity and love of the arts, there appeared in all his works a grandeur of design and dignity of invention, so that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth but of the hand of a king. His friends were astonished at their greatness, and his very enemies were pleased with their beauty; nor is this description of him at all exaggerated. His enemies used to stand upon the shore, looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, as they sailed along; and his engines, called helepoles, were a pleasing spectacle to the very towns which he besieged; this is evident from facts. Lysimachus, who of all the princes of his time was the bitterest enemy to Demetrius, when he came to compel him to raise the siege of Soli in Cilicia, desired he

would show him his engines of war and his manner of navigating the galleys ; and he was so struck with the sight that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had stood a long siege, and at last compromised the affair, requested him to leave some of his engines, as monuments both of his power and of their valour.

His war with the Rhodians was occasioned by their alliance with Ptolemy ; and in the course of it he brought the largest of his helepoles up to their walls. Its base was square, each of its sides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide, and it was sixty-six cubits high. The sides of the several divisions gradually lessened, so that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inside was divided into several storeys or rooms, one above another. The front which was turned towards the enemy had a window in each storey, through which missive weapons of various kinds were thrown ; for it was filled with men who practised every method of fighting. It neither shook nor veered the least in its motion, but rolled on in a steady upright position ; and as it moved with a horrible noise, it at once pleased and terrified the spectators.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus, for his own use in this war, each of which weighed forty minæ. Zoilus, the maker, to show the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be shot at one of them from an engine, at the distance of twenty-six paces, and it stood so firm that there was no more mark upon it than what might be made with such a style as is used in writing. This he took for himself, and gave the other to Alcimus the Epirot, a man of the greatest bravery and strength of any in his army. The Epirot's whole suit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the siege of Rhodes, in an action near the theatre.

As the Rhodians defended themselves with great spirit, Demetrius was not able to do anything considerable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly resented, and for that reason he persisted in the siege. They had taken the vessel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with some robes and pieces of tapestry, and they sent it as it was to Ptolemy. In which they were far from imitating the politeness of the Athenians, who, when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of Olympias with the seal entire.

But Demetrius, though much incensed, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he soon had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the history of Jalysus, and had almost finished it when Demetrius seized it in one of the suburbs. The Rhodians sent a herald to entreat him to spare the work, and not suffer it to be destroyed. Upon which he said, "He would rather burn the pictures of his father than hurt so laborious a piece of art." For Protogenes is said to have been seven years in finishing it. Apelles tells us that when he first saw it he was so much astonished that he could not speak; and at last when he recovered himself he said, "A masterpiece of labour! A wonderful performance! But it wants those graces which raise the fame of my paintings to the skies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and being added to the number of those collected there, was destroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war; Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them on this condition, that the Rhodians should assist Antigonus and Demetrius as allies, in all their wars except those with Ptolemy.

At the same time the Athenians called him to their succour against Cassander, who was besieging their city. In consequence of which he sailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, and a numerous body of land forces. With these he not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclea then voluntarily submitted, and he received into his army six thousand Macedonians who came over to him. In his return he restored liberty to the Greeks, within the straits of Thermopylæ, took the Bœotians into his alliance, and made himself master of Cenchreæ. He likewise reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garrisoned by Cassander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had lavished honours upon him before in the most extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occasion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he should lodge in the back part of the Parthenon; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was said to have received him as her guest; a guest not very fit to come under her roof, or suitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions his brother Philip took up his quarters in a house where there were three young women. His father Antigonus said nothing to Philip, but called the quarter-master, and said to him in his presence, "Why do you not remove my son out of this lodging, where he is so much straitened for room?" And Demetrius who ought to have reverenced Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldest sister (for so he affected to call her) behaved in such a manner to persons of both sexes who were above the condition of slaves, and the citadel was so polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept sacred in some degree, when he

indulged himself only with such women as Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we choose to pass over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens; but the virtue and chastity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of silence. Democles was very young, and his beauty was no secret to Demetrius. Indeed, his surname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles the handsome. Demetrius, through his emissaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats, but neither could prevail. He left the wrestling ring and all public exercises, and made use only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and surprised him there alone. The boy seeing nobody near to assist him, and the impossibility of resisting with any effect, took off the cover of the caldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true he came to an unworthy end, but his sentiments were worthy of his country and of his personal merit.

Very different were those of Cleænetus the son of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remission of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, signifying his pleasure in that respect; by which he not only dishonoured himself but brought great trouble upon the city. The people took off the fine, but at the same time they made a decree, that no citizen should for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was disobliged at it, and expressed his resentment in strong terms, they not only repealed the act, but punished the persons who proposed and supported it, some with death, and some with banishment. They likewise passed a new edict, importing, "That the people of Athens had resolved that whatsoever thing Demetrius might com-

mand, should be accounted holy in respect to the gods, and just in respect of men. Some person of better principle on this occasion happening to say that Stratocles was mad in proposing such decrees, Democharcs the Leuconian answered, "He would be mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his servility; and for this saying Democharcs was prosecuted and banished the city. To such meannesses were the Athenians brought, when the garrison seemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people.

Demetrius afterwards passed into Peloponnesus, where he found no resistance, for all his enemies fled before him or surrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with ease that part of the country called Acte, and all Arcadia except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, he set free from their garrisons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feasts of Juno came on at Argos, and Demetrius presided in the games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities he married Deidamia the daughter of Æcides, king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians that they lived out of their city, and showing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to build one where the town now stands. Along with the situation he likewise changed the name, calling the town Demetrias, instead of Sicyon.

The states being assembled at the Isthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and in the elation of power and success he thought himself a much greater man. Alexander robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himself king of kings, though he raised many both to the style and authority of kings. But Demetrius thought no

man worthy of that title, except his father and himself. He even ridiculed those who made use of it, and it was with pleasure he heard sycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lysimachus treasurer, and Agathocles the Sicilian, governor of the islands. The rest of them only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity. Lysimachus alone was angry, because Demetrius seemed to think him no better than an eunuch; for the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was the most violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to disparage him on account of his passion for Lamia, he said, "This was the first time he had seen a strumpet act in a tragedy." Demetrius said in answer, "My strumpet is an honester woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated and to be immediately admitted not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in February, and the greater in September; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries. When the letters were read, Pythodorus, the torchbearer, was the only person who ventured to oppose the demand; and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month of Munychion should be called and reputed the month of Anthesterion, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his first initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into Boedromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the greater mysteries and to immediate inspection. Hence those

strokes of satire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—"The man who can contract the whole year into one month;" and with respect to Demetrius's being lodged in the Parthenon—"The man who turns the temples into inns, and brings prostitutes into the company of the virgin goddess."

But amongst the many abuses and enormities committed in their city, no one seems to have given the Athenians greater uneasiness than this: He ordered them to raise two hundred and fifty talents in a very short time, and the sum was exacted with the greatest rigour. When the money was brought in, and he saw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap. Thus the disgrace hurt them more than the loss, and the application more than the impost. Some, however, say that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this manner, but to the people of Thessaly. Besides this disagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many persons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king; and the expense of that supper was so remarkable that Lynceus the Samian took the pains to give a description of it. For the same reason a comic poet of those times with equal wit and truth, called Lamia an Helepolis. And Democharcs the Solian, called Demetrius Muthos, that is fable, because he too had his Lamia.

The great interest that Lamia had with Demetrius in consequence of his passion for her excited a spirit of envy and aversion to her, not only in the breasts of his wives but of his friends. Demetrius having sent ambassadors to Lysimachus on some occasion or other, that prince amused himself one day with showing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claw in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being shut

up with that wild beast by Alexander the Great, and the battle he had with it. Upon which they laughed, and said: "The king, our master, too, bears on his neck the marks of a dreadful wild beast called a Lamia." Indeed, it was strange that he should at first have so great an objection against the disparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into such a lasting captivity to Lamia, though she had passed her prime at their first acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at supper, Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed Mania, what she thought of her. "I think her an old woman, sir," said Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary dessert on the table, he said to her, "You see what fine things Lamia sends me." "My mother will send you finer," answered Demo, "if you will but favour her."

We shall mention only one story more of Lamia, which relates to her censure of the celebrated judgment of Bocchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely desirous of the favours of a courtesan named Thonis, but she set too high a price upon them. Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his desire was satisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action against him for the money, and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that she demanded into a basin, and shake it about before her, that she might enjoy the sight of it. "For fancy," said he, "is no more than the shadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a just sentence: because the woman's desire of the gold was not removed by the appearance of it; whereas the dream cured the passion of her lover.

The change in the fortunes and actions of the subject of our narrative now turns the comic scene into tragedy; all the other kings having united their forces against

Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him, and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a spirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretensions, and restrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the pre-eminence among the successors of Alexander, not only for himself, but for his son after him. But being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no less insolent in his expressions than in his actions, he exasperated many young and powerful princes against him. He boasted that "he could break the present league, and disperse the united armies with as much ease as a boy does a flock of birds, by throwing a stone, or making a slight noise."

He had an army of more than seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's infantry consisted of sixty-four thousand men, their cavalry of ten thousand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in sight, there was a visible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with respect to his hopes than his resolution. In other engagements his spirits used to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expressions vaunting; insomuch that he would sometimes in the heat of the action let fall some jocular expression, to show his unconcern and his contempt of his adversary; but at this time he was observed for the most part to be thoughtful and silent; and one day he presented his son to the army, and recommended him as his successor. What appeared still more extraordinary, was that he took him aside into his tent, and discoursed with him there; for he never used to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to consult him in the least, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what

he had resolved on by himself. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once asked him when they should decamp, and that he answered angrily, "Are you afraid that you only shall not hear the trumpet."

On this occasion, it is true, their spirits were depressed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexander came to him in a magnificent suit of armour, and asked him what was to be the word in the ensuing battle. Demetrius answered, "Jupiter and victory," upon which Alexander said, "I go then to your adversaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus stumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a considerable hurt. After he had recovered himself, he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was sensible that the day was lost.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and fought with so much bravery that he put the enemy to flight; but by a vain and unseasonable ambition to go upon the pursuit, he lost the victory; for he went so far that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate space. Seleucus, now seeing his adversary's foot deprived of their horse, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them and to give them opportunity to change sides. The event answered his expectations; great part separated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the rest were put to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of those that were about him, said, "They are coming against you, sir." He answered, "What other

object can they have? But Demetrius will come to my assistance." In this hope he continued to the last, still looking about for his son, till he fell under a shower of darts. His servants and his very friends forsook him; only Thorax of Larissa remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious, dismembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like some great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which these two princes were possessed of before. Demetrius fled with five thousand foot and four thousand horse; and as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not spare the temple. However, he not only spared it himself, but fearing that his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for with them he had left his ships, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and in this distress he thought he could have no safer asylum than their affection. He therefore pursued his voyage with all possible expedition; but ambassadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades, and entreated him not to think of going thither, because the people had declared by an edict that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the respect due to her rank. This so enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer master of himself, though he had hitherto borne his misfortune with sufficient calmness, and discovered no mean or ungenerous sentiment in the great change of his affairs. But to be deceived, beyond all his expectations, by the Athenians—to find by facts that their affection, so great in appearance, was only false and counterfeit, was a thing that cut him to the heart.

Indeed excessive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes; for all the value of those honours rests in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, because the givers may be under the influence of fear; and fear and love often produce the same public declarations. For the same reason wise princes will not look upon statues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather consider their own actions and behaviour, and in consequence thereof, either believe those honours real, or disregard them as the dictates of necessity. Nothing more frequently happens than that the people hate their sovereign the most, at the time he is receiving the most immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he severely felt this ill treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expostulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only desired them to send him his galleys, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As soon as he had received them, he steered for the Isthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad situation. The cities expelled his garrisons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then sailed to the Chersonesus, and by the ravages he committed in the country, he distressed Lysimachus, as well as enriched and secured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather strength, and improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus, who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had indeed, already a son named Antiochus, by Apama, a

Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles. A connection with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of the voyage he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, as his share, after the defeat of Antigonus. Plistarchus thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himself to the common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption and set sail with the utmost expedition, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner, without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion, and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms, till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. Meanwhile, Deidamia came to him from Greece, but she had not spent

any long time with him before she sickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety; but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius should surrender Cilicia to him for a sum of money; and on his refusal to do that, angrily insisted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjustifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Asia from the Indies to the Syrian Sea, how sordid was it to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under so painful a reverse of fortune. A strong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, "That the man who would be truly happy should not study to enlarge his estate, but to contract his desires." For he who does not restrain his avarice must for ever be poor.

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, said, "Though I had lost a thousand battles as great as that of Ipsus, nothing should bring me to buy the alliance of Seleucus;" and, upon this principle, he garrisoned these cities in the strongest manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares, taking advantage of these, had seized the government, he expected to take the city with ease, if he appeared suddenly before it. Accordingly he set out with a considerable fleet, and crossed the sea without danger; but on the coast of Attica he met with a storm, in which he lost many ships and great numbers of his men. He escaped however, himself, and began hostilities against Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations answered no end, he sent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the meantime entered Peloponnesus, and laid seige to Messene. In one of the assaults he was in

great danger; for a dart which came from an engine pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced some cities that had revolted. After this he invaded Attica again, took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ship loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants so much, that they forbore attempting anything of that kind, so that a famine ensued; and, together with the want of bread corn, the people were in want of everything else. A bushel of salt was sold for forty drachmas, and a peck of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which Ptolemy sent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them was of short continuance. A great reinforcement of ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus and Cyprus, so that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and steered off. The tyrant Lachares at the same time made his escape privately, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, should mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates nearest him, and sent ambassadors to his camp; not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that step by the extremity of famine. In the course of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the rest:—A father and his son were sitting in the same room in the last despair; when a dead mouse happening to fall from the roof of the house, they both started up and fought for it. Epicurus the philosopher is said at that time to have supported his friends and disciples with beans, which he shared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In such a miserable condition was the city when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each side the stage, he came down through the passage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increased, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak; for neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expressions severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of a hundred thousand measures of wheat, and re-established such an administration as was most agreeable to them.

The orator Dromoclides observed the variety of acclamations amongst the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of those that spoke from the *rostrum*. He therefore proposed a decree that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia should be delivered up to King Demetrius. After this bill was passed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garrison in the museum; lest, if there should be another defection amongst the people, it might keep them from other enterprises.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a design upon Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almost in sight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred prisoners; so that he seemed almost master of a town which hitherto had never been taken. But surely fortune never displayed such sudden and extraordinary vicissitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other scene of things did she so

often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins she had made. Hence he is said in his greatest adversity to have addressed her in the words of Æschylus :—

> "Thou gavest me life and honour, and thy hand
> Now strikes me to the heart."

When his affairs seemed to be in so promising a train for power and empire, news was brought that Lysimachus, in the first place, had taken the cities he had in Asia, that Ptolemy had dispossessed him of all Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually besieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in Archilochus,

> "Whose right hand offered water, when the left
> Bore hostile fire——"

Though she drew him from Lacedæmon by these alarming tidings, yet soon raised him a new scene of light and hope. She availed herself of these circumstances :—

After the death of Cassander, his eldest son Philip had but a short reign over the Macedonians, for he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Thessalonica, Alexander, the other brother, called in the Greek princes to his assistance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived first, and seized a considerable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no sooner received the letters than he marched his forces thither likewise, and the young prince was still more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however, at Dium, and received

him in the most respectful manner, but told him at the same time that his affairs did not now require his presence. Hence mutual jealousies arose, and Demetrius, as he was going to sup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a design against his life, which was to be put in execution in the midst of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the least disconcerted: he only slackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms; after which he took his guards and the officers of his household, who were much more numerous than those of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there till he rose from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by his train, durst not attack Demetrius; and he, for his part, pretending that he was not disposed to drink that evening, soon withdrew. Next day he prepared to decamp; and, alleging that he was called off by some new emergency, desired Alexander to excuse him if he left him soon this time; and assured him that at some other opportunity he would make a longer stay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily and without any hostile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Thessaly. When they came to Larissa, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In consequence of these polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into the snare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, lest he should teach the other to do the same. He therefore suffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the surer and more convenient execution. He went to sup with Demetrius; and as his host rose up in the midst of the feast, Alexander was terrified, and rose up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, said no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that follows me;" and

then went out. Upon which they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to assist him. One of these is reported to have said as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confusion. In the morning the Macedonians were greatly disturbed with the apprehension that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, instead of an appearance of hostilities, he sent a message desiring to speak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered their spirits, and resolved to receive him with civility; when he came, he found it unnecessary to make long speeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother, and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home proved not averse to the change; for they always remembered with horror Cassander's base behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a son by her to succeed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had set his wife and children at liberty, and dismissed them with presents and other tokens of honour. He was informed, too, that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus, the son of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Asia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had a son by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greatest efforts to conquer his

passion, but they were of no avail. At last, considering that his desires were of the most extravagant kind, that there was no prospect of satisfaction for them, and that the succours of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person, and abstaining from food; for this purpose he made sickness his pretence. His physician, Erasistratus, easily discovered that his distempter was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out he spent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, he observed with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which corresponds the most with the passions of the soul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected; but when Stratonice came in, as she often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he showed all the symptoms described by Sappho, the faltering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse; and at length the passion overcoming his spirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleness.

Erasistratus concluded from these tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love, but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite astonished, said, "How! love for which there is no remedy?" "It is certainly so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What! Erasistratus," said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse to give your wife to my son, when you see us in danger of losing our only hope?"

"Nay, would you do such a thing," answered the physician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice?" "Oh, my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy should I be, if either God or man could remove his affections thither! I would give up my kingdom, so I could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced these words with so much emotion, and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, "Then there is no need of Erasistratus. You, sir, who are a father, a husband, and a king, will be the best physician too, for your family."

Upon this, Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them, "It was his will and pleasure that Antiochus should intermarry with Stratonice, and that they should be declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces. He believed," he said, "that Antiochus who was such an obedient son, would not oppose his desire; and if the princess should oppose the marriage, as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would persuade her to think, that what was agreeable to the king, and advantageous to the kingdom, was both just and honourable." Such is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now master of Macedonia and Thessaly; and as he had great part of Peloponnesus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the other side of the Isthmus, he wanted to reduce the Bœotians, and threatened them with hostilities. At first they proposed to come to an accommodation with him on reasonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan, having thrown himself in the meantime into Thebes with his army, the Bœotians were so much elated, that, at the instigation of Pisis the Thespian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his

machines to the walls, and laid siege to Thebes; upon which Cleonymus, apprehending the consequence, stole out; and the Thebans were so much intimidated that they immediately surrendered. Demetrius placed garrisons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the historian, governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful use of his victory, particularly in the case of Pisis; for though he took him prisoner, he did not offer him any injury; on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeness, and appointed him polemarch of Thespiæ.

Not long after this, Lysimachus being taken prisoner by Dromichætes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace with all possible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceless state. But, while he was gone, the Bœotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear on the road that Lysimachus was set at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his son Antigonus, he laid siege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had overrun all Thessaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the siege to his son Antigonus, and marched against the warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse in Thessaly, and then returned to the siege. His first operation was to bring up his machine called helepoles; but he proceeded in it with great labour and by slow degrees, by reason of its size and weight: he could scarce move it two furlongs in two months. As the Bœotians made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the assault, rather out of a spirit of animosity than the hope of any advantage, young Antigonus

was greatly concerned at seeing such numbers fall, and said, "Why, sir, do we let these brave fellows lose their lives without any necessity?" Demetrius offended at the liberty he took, made answer, "Why do you trouble yourself about it? Have you any provisions to find for the dead?" To show, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his share in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him excessive pain, yet he continued the siege till he once more made himself master of Thebes. He entered the city with such an air of resentment and severity, that the inhabitants expected to suffer the most dreadful punishments; yet he contented himself with putting thirteen of them to death, and banishing a few more. All the rest he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after its being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occasion took a very extraordinary step. As the Ætolians were in possession of the passes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be solemnised at Athens; alleging, that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people considered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia; but as he was naturally indisposed for a life of quiet and inaction, and observed besides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and seditious in peace, he undertook an expedition against the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a respectable army, and with the rest of his forces marched against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to seek him; but as they happened to take different roads and missed each other, Demetrius laid

waste Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to stand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adversary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thousand prisoners.

This battle was the principal cause of Demetrius's ruin; for Pyrrhus was not so much hated by the Macedonians for the mischief he had done them as admired for his personal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour; insomuch that many of the Macedonians said, "That of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus only that they saw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the other princes, especially Demetrius, imitated him only in a theatrical manner by affecting a lofty port and majestic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king; for he not only affected a superfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his shoes made of cloth of gold, with soles of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of most sumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be represented upon it; but it was left unfinished on account of his change of fortune. Nor did any of his successors ever presume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This ostentation of dress offended a people who were unaccustomed to such sights; but his luxurious and dissolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumstance; and what disobliged them most of all was his difficulty of access, for he either refused to see those who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harsh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the rest of the Greeks, their ambassadors waited two

years at his court for an answer. The Lacedæmonians happening to send only one ambassador to him, he considered it as an affront, and said in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians sent no more than one ambassador?" "No," said the Spartan, acutely in his laconic way, "one ambassador to one king."

One day, when he seemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be something less inaccessible, he was presented with several petitions, all which he received and put them in the skirt of his robe. The people of course followed him with great joy; but no sooner was he come to the bridge over the Axius, than he opened his robe and shook them all into the river. This stung the Macedonians to the heart, when looking for the protection of a king, they found the insolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared the harder to such as had seen, or heard from those who had seen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on such occasions. An old woman was one day very troublesome to him in the street, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He said, "he was not at leisure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you should not be a king." The king was struck with these words, and having considered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace, where, postponing all other affairs, he gave audience for several days to all who chose to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king so much as the distribution of justice. For "Mars is a tyrant," as Timotheus expresses it; but justice, according to Pindar, "Is the rightful sovereign of the world." The things which Homer tells us, kings receive from Jove are not machines for taking towns, or ships with brazen beaks, but law and justice; these they are to guard and cultivate. And it is not the most warlike, the most violent and sanguinary, but

the justest of princes, whom he calls the disciple of Jupiter. But Demetrius was pleased with an appellation quite opposite to that which is given the king of the gods; for Jupiter is called Policus and Poliuchus, the patron and guardian of cities; Demetrius is surnamed Poliorcetes, the destroyer of cities. Thus in consequence of the union of power and folly, vice is substituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injustice are united too.

When Demetrius lay dangerously ill at Pella, he was very near losing Macedonia; for Pyrrhus by a sudden inroad penetrated as far as Edessa: but as soon as he recovered he repulsed him with ease, and afterwards he came to terms with him; for he was not willing to be hindered, by skirmishing for posts with Pyrrhus, from the pursuit of greater and more arduous enterprises. His scheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the object, for he had raised an army of ninety-eight thousand foot and near twelve thousand horse; and he was building five hundred galleys in the ports of Piræus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Pella. He went himself to all these places, to give directions to the workmen, and assist in the construction. All the world was surprised, not only at the number, but at the greatness of his works; for no man, before his time ever saw a galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, Ptolemy Philopater built one of forty banks; its length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its height to the top of the prow forty-eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, exclusive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thousand; and the decks and the several interstices were capable of containing near three thousand soldiers. This, however, was mere matter of curiosity, for it differed very little

from an immovable building, and was calculated more for show than for use, as it could not be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of Demetrius had their use as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their size, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for the invasion of Asia as no man ever had before him, except Alexander the Great; Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus united against him. They likewise joined in an application to Pyrrhus, desiring him to fall upon Macedonia; and not to look to himself as bound by the treaty with Demetrius, since that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of Pyrrhus, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might at present be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. As Pyrrhus accepted the proposal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found himself surrounded with war at home; for, at one instant of time, Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from its present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging the country. Demetrius, on this occasion, left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedonia. His first operations were intended against Lysimachus; but as he was upon his march, he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Berœa; and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner, for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to march off,

under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case Demetrius thought proper to get at the greatest distance he could from Lysimachus, and turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the service of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference. But he was sadly mistaken in his conjecture; and he soon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his distinguished valour, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his prisoners. Indeed, they were inclined to desert to him or any other, so they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterwards there was nothing but open disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight, for "The Macedonians (they told him) were tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest in comparison of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent not like a real king, but a theatrical one; and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it in pieces, but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which, the tumult instantly ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years.

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled

to Cassandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her sorrow on this occasion. She could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! in her despair, therefore, and detestation of fortune, who was always more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck; for which purpose he repaired to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, gives this picture of his own fortune:—

> "I move on Fortune's rapid wheel: my lot
> For ever changing like the changeful moon,
> That each night varies; hardly now perceived;
> And now she shows her bright horn; by degrees
> She fills her orb with light; but when she reigns
> In all her pride, she then begins once more
> To waste her glories, till dissolved and lost,
> She sinks again to darkness."——

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increase and wane, his splendour and obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again, and shone with new splendour. Fresh forces came in, and gradually filled up the measure of his hopes. This was the first time he addressed the cities as a private man, and without any of the ensigns of royalty. Somebody seeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him, with propriety enough, those verses of Euripides,

> "To Dirce's fountain, and Ismenus' shore
> In mortal form he moves a God no more."

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a respectable force and form of royalty about him, he restored the Thebans their ancient govern-

ment and laws. At the same time the Athenians abandoned his interests, and razing out of their registers the name of Diphilus, who was then priest of the gods protectors, ordered Archons to be appointed again according to ancient custom. They likewise sent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, because they saw Demetrius grown stronger than they expected; Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid strong siege to the city. But Crates the philosopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being sent out to him by the people, partly by his entreaties for the Athenians, and partly by representing to him that his interest laid another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raise the siege. After this, he collected all his ships, embarked his army, which consisted of eleven thousand foot, beside cavalry, and sailed to Asia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lysimachus. Eurydice, the sister of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter she had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promised him upon the application of Seleucus. Demetrius married her with the free consent of Eurydice, and soon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lysimachus likewise deserted to him, and brought sufficient appointments of money and troops with them. But, as Agathocles the son of Lysimachus came against him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with an intention to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occasion. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all the skirmishes that he ventured upon, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and, what was another dis-

agreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day ; and by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus he had a great number of men swept away with the stream. Yet amidst all their distress, his troops were capable of jesting. One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of Œdipus with a small alteration :

> "Thou offspring of the blind old king Antigonus,
> Where dost thou lead us?"

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under the necessity of eating anything, however unwholesome, so that finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he came down to Tarsus, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare against him. But perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid taking something, when they were reduced to such extremities, and that Agathocles had fortified the passes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with strong entreaties that he would take compassion on a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were such as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and sent orders to his lieutenants in those parts to supply Demetrius with everything suitable to the state of a king, and his army with sufficient provisions. But Patrocles, who was a man of understanding, and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince and represented to him, "That the expense of furnishing the troops of Demetrius with provisions was a

thing of small importance, in comparison of suffering Demetrius himself to remain in the country, who was always one of the most violent and enterprising princes in the world, and now was in such desperate circumstances as might put even those of the mildest dispositions on bold and unjust attempts."

Upon these representations Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, astonished and terrified at the sudden change of Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest posts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and sent a message to him, begging, "That he might be suffered to make a conquest of some free nations of barbarians, and by settling amongst them as their king, put a period to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Seleucus would at least permit him to winter in that country, and not, by driving him out naked and in want of everything, expose him in that condition to his enemies."

All these proposals had a suspicious appearance to Seleucus, he made answer, "That he might, if he pleased, spend two months of the winter in Cataonia, if he sent him his principal friends as hostages;" but at the same time he secured the passes into Syria. Demetrius, thus surrounded like a wild beast in the toils, was under a necessity of having recourse to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beset him with his armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his enemy to the rout. After this he dislodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the side of Syria, and made himself master of the passages.

Elevated with this success, and finding the courage of his men restored, he prepared to fight a decisive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity.

He had rejected the succours offered him by Lysimachus, for want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehension of his designs ; and he was loath to try his strength with Demetrius, because he dreaded his desperate courage, as well as his usual change of fortune, which often raised him from great misery to the summit of power. In the meantime Demetrius was seized with a fit of sickness, which greatly impaired his personal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs ; for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and dispersed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty ; and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards Cilicia. But afterwards in the night he decamped without sound of trumpet, and taking the contrary way, crossed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other side as far as Cyrrhestica.

Seleucus followed and encamped very near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of surprising him. Seleucus was retired to rest ; and in all probability his enemy would have succeeded, had not some deserters informed him of his danger, just time enough for him to put himself in a posture of defence. Upon this he started up in great consternation, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm ; and as he put on his sandals, he said to his friends, "What a terrible wild beast are we engaged with !" Demetrius perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his scheme was discovered, retired as fast as possible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himself at the head of the other, and made some impression upon the enemy. Meantime Seleucus quitting his horse, and laying aside his helmet, presented himself to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his

hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and be convinced at last it was to spare them, not Demetrius, that he had been so long about the war. Upon which they all saluted him king, and ranged themselves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced thought this the most terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himself from this distress as well as the rest, fled to the passes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if possible, to take the way to Caunus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his escape by sea; but knowing he had not provisions even for that day, he sought for some other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Sosigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purse; with the assistance of which money they hoped te reach the sea. Accordingly when night came, they attempted to pass the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they despaired of succeeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company (for some had gone off), nor with the same spirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was best for him to surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword to kill himself; but his friends interposed, and consoling him in the best manner they could, persuaded him to follow his advice; in consequence of which he sent to Seleucus, and yielded himself to his discretion.

Upon this news Seleucus said to those about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, that now saves him; and that adds to other favours this opportunity of testifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his household, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and

to provide everything else for his reception and entertainment in the most magnificent manner. As there happened to be in the service of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately sent that person to him, that he might be more at ease and come with the greater confidence, as to a son-in-law and a friend.

On the discovery of this favourable disposition of Seleucus towards him, at a first view, and afterwards a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and strove which should pay him the most respect; for it was expected that his interest with Seleucus would soon be the best in the kingdom. But these compliments turned the compassion which his distress had excited into jealousy, and gave occasion to the envious and malevolent to divert the stream of the king's humanity from him by alarming him with apprehensions of no insensible change, but of the greatest commotions in his army on the sight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great satisfaction, and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of the kindness of Seleucus; insomuch that Demetrius, though in the first shock of his misfortune he had thought it a great disgrace to surrender himself, was now displeased at his aversion to that step. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pausanias, coming with a party of horse and foot, to the number of a thousand, suddenly surrounded him, and drove away such as he found inclined to favour his cause. After he had thus seized his person, instead of conducting him to the presence of Seleucus he carried him to the Syrian Chersonesus. There he was kept, indeed, under a strong guard; but Seleucus sent him a sufficient equipage, and supplied him with money and a table

suitable to his rank. He had also places of exercise and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well stored with game, and such of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaisance often to send some of his people with kind and encouraging messages, intimating that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his son, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, desiring them to trust neither his handwriting nor his seal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining estates for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it. He put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himself, offering, on condition that his father were set free, to cede all the possessions they had left, and deliver himself up as hostage. Many cities and princes joined in the request, but Lysimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large sum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for his proposal, and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice to make them the compliment of restoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at first supported his misfortune with patience, by custom learned to submit to it with a still better grace; for some time he took the exercises of hunting and running, but he left them by degrees, and sunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards he took to drinking and play, and spent most of his time in that kind of dissipation. Whether it was to put off the

thoughts of his present condition, which he could not bear in his sober hours, and to drown reflection in the bowl, or whether he was sensible at last that this was the sort of life which, though originally the object of his desires, he had idly wandered from, to follow the dictates of an absurd ambition. Perhaps he considered that he had given himself and others infinite trouble by seeking with fleets and armies that happiness which he found when he least expected it, in ease, indulgence, and repose. For what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propose to itself in all their wars and dangers but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for those of luxury and pleasure—the sure consequences of their not knowing what real pleasure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years' confinement in the Chersonesus, fell into a distemper occasioned by idleness and excess, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was severely censured, and, indeed, was much concerned himself, for his unjust suspicion of Demetrius; whereas he should have followed the example of Dromichætes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lysimachus, when his prisoner, with all the generosity that became a king.

There was something of theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius. For Antigonus, being informed that they were bringing his father's ashes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the Isles of the Ægean Sea, he took the urn, which was of solid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched sent crowns to adorn the urn and persons in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth the urn was seen in a conspicuous position upon the stern of the vessel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a

company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a most celebrated performer on the flute, sat by the urn and played a solemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy sound, like that of mourners in a funeral procession, beating their breasts in concert with the music. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus that excited the greatest compassion among the people as they passed. After the Corinthians had bestowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrius and deposited them there. This was a city called after the deceased, which he had peopled from the little towns about Jolcos.

Demetrius left behind him several children—Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two sons of the name of Demetrius, one surnamed The Slender, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his residence in Egypt; and by his last wife Eurydice he is said to have had a son named Corrhæbus. His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus, the last king of Macedon, in whose time the Romans subdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the stage.

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius. His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world, but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality, of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof. His fortune was not large, and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver basin full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the basin to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the basin occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony, finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Catiline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed that his mother,

Julia, was even obliged to beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment; but this is not true; for none of those who suffered on the same occasion under Cicero were refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the expenses that such indulgences are attended with. Of course, he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father, being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful disorder, till, weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic style was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it, for it was correspondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinius, the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria. This invitation he refused to accept as a private man; but, being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts, and afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain,

and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon the conclusion of this war, Gabinius was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt and restore him to the kingdom. The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. Most of the officers disapproved of the expedition, and Gabinius himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinius into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow; for they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon, though it is probably no more than the drainings of the Red Sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a small neck of land.

Antony, being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his own party was, on this occasion, advantageous to the enemy; for when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions where he was concerned he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour, but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend and connected with him in the rites of hospitality; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose, and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition that his family was descended from Hercules by a son of his called Anteon; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus, when he appeared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct which would seem disagreeable to others rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribald strain, ate and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers and to his friends was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I must mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies*) to be given to one of his friends. His steward, who was startled at the extra-

vagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it, and inquired what it was for. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and to mortify him still more said, coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure; it is too little; let it be doubled." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians; and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he got over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate; one, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his army;" the other, "Whether Cæsar should give up his." There were but a few votes for the former, a large majority for the latter. Then Antony stood up, and put

the question, "Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should not dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: but they were overruled by Cato, and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house. He left them with bitter execrations; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero, in his Philippics, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war. There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time these things might give some colour to the commencement of these hostilities, which had been long determined. Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of humankind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.

As soon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his le-

gions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in the meantime, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the sociability of his disposition soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers : for he ate and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others his conduct was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on business, and infamous for his adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends ; and as Antony had the greatest share of the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar, notwithstanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities ; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly ; for Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.

Cæsar embarked at Brundusium, sailed over the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, for it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony on the other hand being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundusium. By sending out several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thousand foot and eight hundred horse ; and with these he set sail.

The enemy discovered and made up to him; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the south which made the sea so rough, that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea bore so hard, that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck; but after a little, it turned to the south-west, and blowing from land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster; for he took several prisoners and a considerable booty. He likewise made himself master of the town of Lissus; and by the seasonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a more promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself in every battle that was fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; so that in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities appeared in the last decisive battle at Pharsalia. He led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey and sent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horse. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his absence he commands alone; for, after the election of a dictator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only excepted, are divested of their authority.

Dolabella one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, and solicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the

other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to suspect a criminal connection between Dolabella and his wife, whom on that account, he dismissed, though she was his first cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In consequence of this, he joined Asinius and opposed Dolabella. The latter had taken possession of the forum, with a design to pass his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the forum, when through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris, a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road by groves and rivers, for the most luxuriant dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleasure and female musicians in the houses of

modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury, and, by means of his delegated power insulting the citizens.

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house, but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this he tells us was the reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by this disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint on his dissolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of discipline, as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæsar was killed, and that the

enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately into Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, went to his house by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before she received the letter, she asked with impatience if Antony were well. He presented the letter to her in silence, and, while she was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck and kissed her. We mention this as one instance out of many of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days' journey to meet him; but Antony met with the most distinguished reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæsar in the same chariot. After them came Brutus, Albinus, and Octavius, the son of Cæsar's niece, who was afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years was Emperor of Rome. Cæsar being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds was against the measure. Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his disappointment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony; for when both were accused of designs against him, he said, contemptuously enough, "It is not these fat, sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean." By which he meant Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a

pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar, in a triumphal habit, sat on the rostrum to see the race. On this occasion many of the young nobility, and the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one they meet. Antony was one of the number; but regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, ran to the rostrum, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæsar, intimating thereby the conveyance of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design; and for some time there was a contest between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applause of his friends, and he that refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, while the Romans endured everything that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty. Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction, and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his statues, but the tribunes took it off; upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement from these circumstances. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them that, in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him; that he had sounded him on this business by hints, which, though cautious, were

intelligible ; and that he always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed the secret. Upon this it was proposed that Antony should fall at the same time with Cæsar ; but Brutus opposed it. An action, undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in respect of his personal valour, and the influence of his office ; and it was agreed, that when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave ; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the capitol, and had no further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his son to them as a hostage. That night Cassius supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed, and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and, at the same time, ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation ; and, by saving Rome from a civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate counsels ; and from his influence with the people, he felt that if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome. With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the forum, he undertook the customary funeral oration ; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion, by all that

was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body and held it up to them, bloody as it was and pierced through with weapons ; nor did he hesitate, at the same time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had such an effect upon the people, that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the forum, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Cæsar, entrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to four thousand talents. All Cæsar's papers, which contained a particular account of his designs, were likewise delivered up to him. Of these he made a very ingenious use ; for by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he made some of his friends magistrates, and other senators, some he recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, on pretence that all these things were so ordered by Cæsar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called Charonites, because, to support their title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute. He was consul himself ; his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's niece, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first visited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of seventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid

little regard to him at first, and told him it would be madness for an inexperienced young man, without friends to take upon him so important an office as that of being executor to Cæsar.

Octavius, however, was not to be thus repulsed. He still insisted on the money, and Antony, on the other hand, did everything to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship ; and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle, he threatened that unless he desisted to solicit the people he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate ; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate, and for this purpose gave him a meeting in the capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed, for that night Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderstruck ; and in a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on his life. The latter would have justified himself, but was not believed ; so that, of course, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over to Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other in securing, by rewards and promises, the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had then considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy ; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena, and Cæsar was present at the battle, Both the

consuls were slain, but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him a school of moral improvement; and Antony in adversity was almost a man of virtue. Indeed, it is common for men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty, but a change of conduct is not always the consequence. On such occasions they too often fall back into their former manners through the inactivity of reason and infirmity of mind; but Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink a little stinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the desert. Nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees, and that, in passing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him he encamped; but receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not shaven since his defeat was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the consequence, ordered the trumpets to sound that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony that if he had resolution enough to attack the

camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but if he should desire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus ; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus's soldiers all the while stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by the name of father, and though in reality everything was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with seventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thousand horse ; besides these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called Cotylon.

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met together with Lepidus, in a small river island, where the conference lasted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance, and this they found no difficulty in settling ; but whom they should kill and whom they should spare it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their resentment against the latter overcame their kindness for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony, and Antony sacrificed his uncle, Lucius Cæsar, to Octavius, while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to

death his own brother Paulus. Though others say that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them, though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there never was anything so atrocious or so execrably savage as this commerce of murder; for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance; and Cæsar, therefore, was to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death, the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was slain Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were presented him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the rostra in the forum; but this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune, and the power it had placed in his hands. When his uncle, Lucius Cæsar, was pursued by the murderers, he fled for refuge to his sister; and when the pursuers had broken into the house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and, stretching forth her hands, she cried, "You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greater blame, for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more powerful than Lepidus, but when he was no longer under difficulties he fell back

into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man no less distinguished by his temperance and modesty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see these doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors ; while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those treasures he had amassed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with insupportable impositions ; and being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army, too, was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus ; his camp was taken, and he narrowly escaped by flight ; though, in his Commentaries, he tells us that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle. Cassius was defeated by Antony, and yet there are those, too, who say that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards ; as Cassius knew nothing

of the success of Brutus, he was killed at his own earnest entreaty by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after, in which Brutus was defeated, and in consequence of that slew himself. Cæsar happened at that time to be sick, and the honour of this victory likewise of course fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius, for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome ; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary when a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece, but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians, vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house ; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told

them it was little and ruinous. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contending for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipation of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and the pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folk that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder; and Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles, and was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus:—

——"Bacchus! ever kind and free!"

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead who were still living; and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a

Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste; but when he laid a double impost on Asia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantry that was agreeable to his humour, that, "If he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters." He added, at the same time, with a little more asperity, that, "As Asia had already raised two hundred thousand talents, if he had not received it, he should demand it of those who had; but," said he, "if you received it, and yet have it not, we are undone." This touched him sensibly, for he was ignorant of many things that were transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He had a simplicity in his nature, without much penetration; but when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and severe in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it, for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would not be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they knew well that, when they complied with his opinions in business, he would not think it the effect of complaisance, but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This

awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleams of remaining virtue. It began in this manner :—When he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in the war. Dellius, who went on this message, no sooner observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having anything to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says, "in her best attire," into Cilicia, assuring her that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the most courtly general in the world. Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty which had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and inexperienced ; but she was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with such treasures, ornaments, and presents as were suitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, she held him in such contempt, that she by no means took the most expeditious method of travelling. She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes and pipes and harps. The queen, in

the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship; while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and the Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper; but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to show his politeness on her arrival. He complied. He was astonished at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced that he came short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour favoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve. Such was the variety of her powers in conversation; her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation as an instrument of many strings. She

spoke most languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms, that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at the shrine of luxury what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, the sacrifice of time. This mode of life they called the inimitable. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias that, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, besides an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole; and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle or an extraordinary vein of conversation was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers.

Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened that, when another physician at table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism:—"There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man; every man who has a fever has it in some degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever." The impertinent was struck dumb with this syllogism; and Antony's son, who laughed at his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent sideboard full of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer, but thought it too much for such a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and indeed, was afraid to accept it. Upon which the servant said, "What are you afraid of? Do not you consider that this is a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you its weight in gold? However, I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in money. In this plate there may be some curious pieces of ancient workmanship that Antony may set a value on." Such are the anecdotes that my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay or the serious humour, still she had something ready for his amusement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him. In his night rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in

the habit of a servant, which he also, on such occasions, affected to wear. From these expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer both in person and character. But though some of the Alexandrians were displeased with this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and said, "That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reserved the tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies would be too trifling; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace; he therefore ordered one of his assistants to dive and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharus and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces."

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages, one from Rome that his wife, Fulvia, and his brother, Lucius, after long dissensions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that

even this roused him from his lethargy; but waking at length, and literally waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy with two hundred ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence he received; and from them he learned that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and, on this occasion, it was abetted by jealousy, for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sycion, in her progress to meet her husband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar; for when Antony came to Italy, and Cæsar expressed no resentment against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia, their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian Sea, was given to Antony; the western provinces to Cæsar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After these matters were settled, they thought of means to secure this union which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself, named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria; Cæsar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister, for she was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus, but a little before this had buried her husband; and, as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connection with Cleopatra

he did not affect to deny, but he absolutely denied that he was married to her; and, in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an influence over Antony as might in the end be salutary to the State. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnise the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the decease of her husband was dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup: "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey;" and it implied,

at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran brisk on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him. "We must not let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath or treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were conducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius; and, in compliment to the latter he took upon himself the office of high priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas! in the contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gipsy, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him by all means to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his; when it is alone its port is erect and fearless; when he approaches, it is dejected and depressed." Indeed, there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjurer's doctrine: for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots, or cast the die, Antony was still the loser.

heir cock-fights and quail-fights, it was still Cæsar's ock and Cæsar's quail. These things, co-operating with he conjurer's observations, had such an effect on Antony, hat he gave up the management of his domestic affairs o Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time rought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learned that his ffairs in Asia, under Ventidius, were successful; that he Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. n honour of this victory he gave an entertainment to he Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition f the gymnastic games, in which he took the master's art himself. The robes and ensigns of the general were id aside; the rods, the cloak, and the slippers of the ymnasiarch were assumed; and when the combatants ad fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown f the sacred olive; and, by the direction of some oracle r other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra. n the meantime, Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, ade an incursion into Syria, but was routed by entidius in Cyrrhestica, and, with the greatest part f his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory ade ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parhians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined ithin the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius ould not pursue the Parthians any farther, for fear of xciting the envy of Antony: he therefore turned his rms against the revolters, and brought them back to heir duty. Amongst these was Antiochus, the king of ommagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. hat prince at first offered to pay a thousand talents, and o submit himself to the Roman empire; upon which

Ventidius told him, that he must send proposals to Antony, for he was then at no great distance; and he had not commissioned Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that something at least might be done by himself. But while the siege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was at last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done some little towards settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obscure, but his connections with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the best use of them, he confirmed what was said of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the success of Sossius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria, and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country, and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ships, and being refused the harbour of Brundusium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to send her to her brother; and she was fortunate

enough to meet with him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned on me, who am the wife of Antony and the sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæsar was softened by the entreaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to the people. They were pleased to see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual disposition for peace, and nothing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between the generals. Antony first invited Cæsar to sup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed that Cæsar should give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian service, and that Antony, in return, should leave a hundred armed galleys with Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up twenty light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother a thousand foot for her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife and his children, both by the present and the former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, and which better counsels seemed totally to have suppressed, revived again, and took possession of his soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato compares certain passions, once more broke loose, and in spite of honour, interest, and prudence,

Antony sent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that district of Judæa which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts were disagreeable to the Romans; for, though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms, though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner, yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of the sun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms, and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility by leaving children and successors born of different princesses; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon, but, by various connections with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates, who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony, and among the rest Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneses, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierampolis, which was before called Bombyce. But

when Phraates sent Moneses assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt, after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia, was the most powerful, for he furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, and ten thousand horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light-armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring he should have made himself master of Media before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison; but his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atropatene

and laid waste the country. In his haste he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which was a ram eighty feet long, and these followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to these it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus, and in the meantime, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind, for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount against the wall; and that required considerable time and labour.

In the meantime, Phraates came up with a numerous army, and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thousand of his men, were slain upon the spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo, and the machines were seized by the enemy and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army, and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in despair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing

them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the signal for battle, but at the same time struck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. Accordingly, he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent; but he had previously given orders to the horse to charge the enemy full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were struck with astonishment at the order of the Roman army, when they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too close in with them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable, and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would, in a great measure, terminate the war, but when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at least a hundred and fifty, he found that he had not slain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken prisoners. Thus the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at last with the whole body, which

having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally, and those who were left to defend the mount had quitted their post and fled. Antony at his return punished the fugitives by decimation, that is, he divided them into tens, and in each division put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible slaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehensive that, if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was passed, and the winter set in, he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his officers not to pursue the Romans too close when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions. He commanded them, at the same time, to compliment them on their valour, and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed, likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy of Antony, which exposed so many brave men to the severities of famine and a winter compaign, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraates sought for nothing more than peace, though he was still defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on these reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was satisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy

assured him that such were the sentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Crassus; for he thought if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered, that the standards and the prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days had been spent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event; yet, whether it was through shame, or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt, but the greater part understood the cause, and, pitying their general, paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country, but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to, and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last, he required the

necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in suffering himself to be bound till he should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days; but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian, observing the mounds of a river broken down. and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be on his guard, for the enemy, he said, was at no great distance. Whilst Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they soon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what measures he was to take, and covering both wings and the rear with such troops as were armed with missive weapons, his army marched in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any great distance. The Parthians, of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and finding an excuse in the winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed

troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he was separated from the rest, they sent to recall him, but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quæstor turned back the standard, and inveighed against Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sent for assistance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongst the rest, committed a most capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to its support; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavily-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than three thousand were slain, and five thousand brought back wounded to the camp; amongst the last was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon after died of his wounds. Antony visited all that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection; while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their

sufferings, but to his own health and quiet: "While our general is safe, all," said they, "is well." It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, able, and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. Not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these respects they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of causes, as we have observed, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantry of his conversation. These were the general cause of the affection he found in his army; and on this particular occasion, his sympathising with the wounded and attending to their wants made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before began to languish in their operations, were so much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is said, of forty thousand horse: for the Parthian king had sent even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory; as to himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his speech might be more affecting; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal, the latter, offering themselves either to decimation or any

other kind of punishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better and firmer order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut to pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were, besides, distressed for want of provisions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even that they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind; for many of their beasts of burden were dead, and many were employed in carrying the sick and wounded. It is said that a bushel of

wheat, Attic measure, was sold for fifty drachmas, and a barley loaf for its weight in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot-herbs found few that they had been accustomed to eat, and in tasting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madness and death. He that had eaten of it immediately lost all memory and knowledge; but at the same time, would busy himself in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing stones, till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting, when wine, the only remedy, was not to be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thousand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, began once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes they said, might continue the route a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpose was to protect some of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations; insomuch that the Romans conceived fresh hopes and spirits; and because the way over the mountains was to be destitute of water, Antony once more was desirous of taking his route through the plains. When he was going to put this scheme in execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that

Moneses who had formerly sought his protection, and being presented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and desired he might be permitted to speak with some person that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, went out to him, and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindness of Moneses, he asked him whether he did not see at a great distance before him a range of high hills. "Under those hills," said he, "the whole Parthian army lies in ambuscade for you; for at the foot of the mountains there is a spacious plain, and there, when deluded by their artifices, you have left the way over the heights, they expect to find you. In the mountain roads, indeed, you have thirst and toil to contend with as usual; but should Antony take the plains, he must expect the fate of Crassus."

After he had given this information, he departed; and Antony on the occasion assembled a council, and amongst the rest his Mardian guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains he said was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with, the windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued him in the night. About sunrise they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching, for that night they had travelled

thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and, being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows, rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running amongst the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; and the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their tents were fixing and the Parthians, as usual, retiring from the pursuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being sent out to him, he advised that the Romans, after a little rest, should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians did not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched unmolested by the enemy; but so dreadful a night as followed he had never passed. Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of; last of all, Antony's baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were

cut asunder and divided amongst the plunderers. The greatest terror and distraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occasioned this flight and confusion. Antony sent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus. and made him swear that he would stab him and cut off his head, whenever he should command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him some encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freshness of the air that issued from it, and that, of course, the troubles of his journey would soon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the same time he was informed that all these disorders had been occasioned by the avarice of the soldiers, and he therefore ordered the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his disordered army.

It was now daylight, and as soon as the troops were brought to a little order the Parthians once more began to harass the rear. The signal was therefore given to the light troops to engage, and the heavy-armed received the arrows under a roof of shields as before, The Parthians, however, durst not come any more to close engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther the river was in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the bank to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of the river the Parthians unstrung their bows, and, with the highest encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies pass over in peace. They did so, and after the necessary refreshments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praise or professions. Within six days from the last battle they arrived

at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of its current, seemed difficult to pass, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy was there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. However, they passed over in safety; and when they set foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they first come on shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleasure that could only express itself in tears. The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here; for as they now passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the colic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse, more than half of which had not died in battle, but by sickness. They had been twenty-seven days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but these victories were by no means complete, because they could not prosecute their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavasdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition; for had he been assisted by the sixteen thousand horse which he took with him out of Media (who were armed like the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them), after the Romans had beaten them in set battles, this cavalry might have taken up the pursuit, and harassed them in such a manner that they could not so often have rallied and returned to the charge. All, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes; but he followed better counsels; and in his present weak and indigent condition he did not think proper to withhold the usual respect and honours he had paid him. But when he came into

Armenia on another occasion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promises and invitations, he seized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in a triumphal procession. The Romans were offended at this triumph and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt for the gratification of Cleopatra. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter and perpetual snows were so destructive to the troops that, in his march, he lost eight thousand men. Accompanied by a small party he went down to the sea-coast, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called the White Hair, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourse to festivity and intoxication ; and he would frequently, over his cups, start up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have asserted that she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occasioned, as it is said, by the division of the Roman spoils, and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom. He therefore sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer than receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxares, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire

of visiting Antony, and Cæsar gave her his permission, not, according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill-treatment and neglect which he concluded she should meet with might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When she arrived at Athens she received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence. However, she wrote to him, and desired he would send his commands where she should leave the presents she had brought. These presents consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burden, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Beside these, she had brought two thousand picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments she deserved, but represented her to Antony in the most agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and to give a colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, and when he left her she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Sometimes she would endeavour to weep, and then, as if she wished to hide the tears from her tender Antony she affected to wipe them off unseen.

Antony was all this while preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependents did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could

suffer the woman whose life was wrapped up in his to die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that she had the honour of being called his wife. Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress. Yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content; but of that society, whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations so totally unmanned him that, through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in a seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into an alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young, returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. However, she refused to quit her husband's house, and, moreover, entreated Cæsar by no means to have recourse to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house, and took the same care of his children, as well those that he had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken had he been present. Antony's friends, who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by this conduct she was

hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution he had made to his children in Alexandria carried with it something so imperious and so disparaging to the Romans, that it increased that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious. He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower seats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlosyria, and nominated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled kings of kings, and to Alexander he gave Armenia and Media, together with Parthia, when it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara, and Ptolemy in the long cloak and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander, the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra on this, and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis, and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the New Isis.

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations incensed the people against Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the first place he charged Cæsar with wresting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was that Cæsar had never returned the ships he had borrowed of him; a third, that after reducing

his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himself his army, his province, and his tributes; lastly, that he had distributed almost all the lands in Italy among his own soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar made answer, that Lepidus was reduced from an incapacity of sustaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the same time he expected to share Armenia with him; that his soldiers had no right to lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately sent Canidius to the sea-coast with sixteen legions. In the meantime he went to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of eight hundred ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred, beside twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehensive that a reconciliation might take place, through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her interest. She prevailed on him to represent to Antony, that it was unreasonable to refuse so powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present at the war; that her presence was even necessary to animate and encourage the Egyptians, who made so considerable a part of his naval force; nor was Cleopatra in point of abilities inferior to any of the princes his allies; since she had not only been a long time at the head of a considerable kingdom, but by her intercourse with him had learned the administration of the greatest affairs. These remon-

strances, as the Fates had decreed everything for Cæsar. had the desired effect, and they sailed together for Samos. where they indulged in every species of luxury. For at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces between Syria, the Mœotis, Armenia, and Lauria. were commanded to send their contributions to the war. the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almost the whole world beside was venting its anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was piping and dancing. The several cities sent oxen for sacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments; so that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure will these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid!"

When these things were over, he gave Priene for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occasion.

In the meantime he sent some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him), and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be looked upon as one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still more the folly of Antony, particularly such as had seen

Cleopatra ; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost everything, and the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, and the sons of freemen one-eighth. This occasioned the greatest clamour and confusion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great oversight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Cæsar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appease the minds of the people. When the money was demanded they murmured and mutinied ; but after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra, on account of their opposing her stay in the army, abandoned him, and went over to Cæsar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the vestals ; and when Cæsar demanded it, they refused to send it, adding that if he was determined to have it, he must come and take it himself. Accordingly he went and took it. First of all he read it over to himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. Afterwards he read it in the senate, and this gave a general offence. It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing, that a man should suffer in his life for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Cæsar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral ; for in case he died at

Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in procession through the forum, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Cæsar's, also accused him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenian library, which consisted of two hundred thousand volumes; and added, that once when they supped in public, Antony rose and trod on Cleopatra's foot, by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra sovereign; and that when he was presiding at the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her enclosed in onyx and crystal and there perused them. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the forum in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer paying his attention to the cause, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius, in these accusations, was nevertheless suspected. The friends of Antony solicited the people in his behalf, and despatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius sailed into Greece, and on his arrival, was suspected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavius's. On this account he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at the public suppers. This, however, he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony; but being publicly called upon to declare the cause of his coming, he answered, "That one part of the cause would require to be communicated at a sober hour, but the other part could not be mistaken, whether a man were drunk or sober, for it was clear that all things

would go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined, and Cleopatra said, "You have done very well, Geminius, to confess without being put to the torture." Geminius soon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their insolence and scurrility. Amongst the rest were Marcus Silanus, and Delius the historian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra had a design upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the physician; because he had once affronted her at supper, by saying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call Deliciæ.

When Cæsar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war should be declared against Cleopatra; for that Antony could not be said to possess that power which he had already given up to a woman. Cæsar observed that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself. It was not he with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus; Iris, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion; for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are said to have happened previous to this war. Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was swallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's statue in Alba was covered with sweat for many days, which returned, though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was set on fire by lightning; and at Athens the statue of Bacchus was carried off by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre. These things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a descendant of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus,

insomuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The same wind threw down the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the rest were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called Antonias, a terrible phenomenon appeared. Some swallows had built their nests in the stern, and others drove them away, and destroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned, and furnished with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Those who did not attend in person, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judæa, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Beside these he had supplies also from the king of the Medes. Cæsar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty thousand foot, and an equal number of horse with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria. Cæsar's extended from Illyria to the Western Ocean, and from that again to the Tuscan and Sicilian Sea. He had likewise all that part of Africa which lies opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The rest of that country, from Cyrene to Ethiopia, was in the possession of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that, though much superior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy, notwithstanding that the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press and pick up in Greece

vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers, and boys. Nor could they make up their numbers even with these, but many of the ships were still almost empty. Cæsar's ships, which were not high-built or splendidly set off for show, but tight, good sailers, well manned and equipped, continued in the harbour of Tarentum and Brundusium. From thence he sent to Antony, desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, and though he was the older man, challenged Cæsar to single combat; or if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this, for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he crossed the Ionian and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was distressed on finding this, because he was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the Ladle.

Antony, as soon as it was daylight, perceived the enemy making up to him, and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, he armed the rowers and placed them on the decks to make a show; with the oars suspended on each side of the vessels, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little they had.

It was much about this time that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon

him, took a small boat and went over to Cæsar; Antony, though he could not but resent this, sent after him his baggage, his friends, and servants, and Domitius, as if it had been for grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon after. Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so very unsuccessful, and so unfit for service, that he was obliged at last to think of his land forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in the interest of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it necessary that she should be sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace and Macedonia to decide it in the field. These places were thought of the rather, because Dicomes, king of the Getæ, had offered to assist Antony with a large army. To give up the sea to Cæsar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired so much experience upon it, he said, would be no disgrace; but to give up the advantage which so able a general as himself might make of his land forces, and waste the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for the sea service, would be infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea; though her motive was not the superior chance of victory, but in case of being vanquished, the better opportunity to escape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he used to go frequently from one to the other. Cæsar was informed by a domestic how easy it might be to seize Antony in this passage, and he sent a party to lie in wait for that purpose. They were so near carrying their point, that they seized the person who went before Antony, and had they not been too hasty, he must have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian vessels except sixty. The best and largest ships, from three ranks of oars to ten were selected, and these had their proper complement of men, for they were supplied with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, and experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body was covered with scars, cried, pointing to those scars, "Why will you, general, distrust these honest wounds, and rest your hopes on those villainous wooden bottoms? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians skirmish at sea; but give us at least the land; for there it is we have learned to conquer or to die." Antony made no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head; though at the same time, he had no great confidence himself; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it should be done to pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days the sea ran too high for an engagement; but on the fifth the weather was fine and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Cœlius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius commanded the centre. Cæsar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himself. Antony's land forces were commanded by Canidius, and Cæsar's remained quiet on the shore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themselves, Antony was rowed about in a light vessel, ordering his men on account of the weight of their vessels to keep their ground and fight as steadily as if they were at land. He ordered his pilots to stand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to

avoid the disadvantage of the straits. Cæsar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an ass. Upon asking his name, the man answered, "My name is Eutychus, and the name of my ass is Nicon." The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, and there he placed the statue of the ass and his driver in brass. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taking his post in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was surprised to find steady and motionless as if it lay at anchor; for some time he was of opinion that it was so, and for that reason he kept back his fleet at the distance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a brisk gale from the sea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and trusting to the height and bulk of their vessels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæsar rejoiced at the sight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuosity; for Antony's ships were too heavy for that kind of rapid impression, which, however, is very necessary for the breach of the enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Cæsar's ships durst neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the strength and roughness of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the sides, since, by means of their weight they would easily have broken their beaks, which were made of large square pieces of timber fastened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was like a battle at land, rather than a sea fight, or more properly, like the storming of a

town ; for there were generally three or more ships of Cæsar's about one of Antony's, assaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men out of their wooden towers, threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a design to surround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him, was separated from the main body, which threw it into disorder, while at the same time it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius. When things were in this situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's sixty ships on a sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly took to flight through the midst of the combatants ; for they were placed in the rear of the large vessels, and by breaking their way through them, they occasioned no small confusion. The enemy saw them with astonishment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponnesus. Antony, on this occasion, forgot both the general and the man ; and as some author has pleasantly observed, "that a lover's soul lives in the body of his mistress," so, as if he had been absolutely incorporated with her, he suffered her to carry him soul and body away. No sooner did he see her vessel hoisting sail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting those brave friends that were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five-oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian and Scellius, followed her who was the first cause, and now the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

When she saw him coming, she put up a signal in her vessel, on which he soon went aboard : neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained in sombre silence, holding his head between his hands. In the mean-

time Cæsar's light ships that were in pursuit of Antony, came in sight; upon this he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them, but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony standing at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art thou that thus pursuest Antony?" He answered, "I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Cæsar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral galley (for there were two of that rank), and by the shock turned her round. He took that vessel and another which contained Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the same pensive posture, and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through shame or resentment, he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them first brought them to speak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be supposed, to sleep together. At last, several of his transports and some of his friends who had escaped from the defeat came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally destroyed, but that his land-forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon he sent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Asia; as for himself, he determined to sail from Tænarus into Africa, and dividing one ship-load of treasure amongst his friends, he desired them to provide for their own safety. They refused the treasure, and expressed their sorrow in tears; while Antony, with the kindest and most humane consolations, entreated them to accept it, and dismissed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to

give them refuge till they could be reconciled to Cæsar. This agent was Theophilus, the father of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony ; but was the first of his freedmen that went over to Cæsar. He afterwards settled at Corinth.

In this posture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long struggled with Cæsar's, a hard gale which blew right ahead of the ships obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon ; about five thousand men were slain in the action, and Cæsar, according to his own account, took three hundred ships. Antony's flight was observed by few, and to those who had not seen it, it was at first incredible. They could not possibly believe that a general who had nineteen legions and twelve thousand horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity ; nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for seven days, and would not listen to the ambassadors of Cæsar. At last, however, when Canidius, who commanded them, fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar.

After this great success, Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty ; for they had been plundered of their cattle and everything else before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution amongst them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. My great grandfather, Nicarchus, used to relate that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horses, they

were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-coast as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burden. This, however, was done but once ; for when the corn was measured a second time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from further hardships ; for the commissaries and soldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share the corn amongst themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of these was Aristocrates the Greek rhetorician ; the other was Lucilius, concerning whom it has been mentioned in another place, that to favour the escape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, he assumed his name, and suffered himself to be taken. Antony saved him, and he was so grateful that he attended him him to the last.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Libya was going over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himself ; but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprise.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an isthmus which divides Asia from Africa, and which, in the narrowest part, is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a design of drawing her galleys over this part into the Red Sea, and purposed with all her wealth and force to seek some remote country where she might neither be reduced to slavery nor involved in war. However, the first galleys that

were carried over being burned by the Arabians of Petra, and Antony not knowing that his land-forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the meantime forsook the city and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been deserted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is exposed as the hater of mankind. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and, being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressed some surprise at it, he answered it was because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his society, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned a universal silence and expectation; at length he said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose, may repair to it before it is cut down." He

was buried at Halæ near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument:

"At last I've bid the knaves farewell;
Ask not my name——but go—to hell."

It is said that he wrote this epitaph himself. That which is commonly repeated was written by Callimachus:

"My name is Timon: knaves, begone!
Curse me, but come not near my stone!"

These are some of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after he heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interest, and, in short, that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him; for, at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat and returned to Alexandria; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his usual festivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's son by Cæsar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occasion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and lasted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called the Inimitable Livers, of which they were members; but they now instituted another by no means inferior in splendour or luxury, called the Companions in Death. Their friends were admitted into this, and the

time passed in mutual treats and diversions. Cleopatra, at the same time, was making a collection of poisonous drugs, and being desirous to know which was least painful in the operation, she tried them on the capital convicts. Such poisons as were quick in their operation she found to be attended with violent pain and convulsions ; such as were milder were slow in their effect ; she, therefore, applied herself to the examination of venomous creatures, and caused different kinds of them to be applied to different persons under her own inspection. These experiments she repeated daily, and at length she found the bite of the asp was the most eligible kind of death, for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sank easily into stupefaction ; and those who were thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked that people do in the profoundest natural sleep.

They both sent ambassadors to Cæsar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or, if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before despatched to Judea to detain Herod in his interest. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. The interest of Herod, however, did not save him ; for he was immediately carried in chains into

his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at least, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

Cæsar absolutely rejected Antony's petition; but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony or banished him her dominions. At the same time he sent Thyreus to her, who was one of his freedmen, and whose address was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms. As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous, and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, wherein he informed him that he had been provoked by the insolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if it will be any satisfaction to you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make some amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderness and respect. She kept her birthday in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances, but his was celebrated with such magnificence that many of the guests who came poor returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Cæsar, to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as the winter was over Cæsar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken, it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up

the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra; whereupon the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she moved her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Cæsar was under some apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the meantime he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony; and at the same time he recommended to her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the soldier with a cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and the same night went over to Cæsar. After this, Antony challenged Cæsar to fight him in single combat; but Cæsar only answered that "Antony might think of many other ways to end his life." Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack Cæsar at the same time both by sea and land. The night preceding the execution of this design he ordered his servants at supper to render him their best services that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully; for the day following they might belong to another master, whilst he lay extended on the

ground, no longer of consequence either to them or to himself. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus; which when he perceived, he encouraged them by assurances that his expectations of a glorious victory were at least equal to those of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned through the city, a silence that was deepened by the awful thought of the ensuing day, on a sudden was heard the sound of musical instruments, and a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to pass through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Those who reflected on this prodigy concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner (Antony's fleet making the first advances), and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no sooner done than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, she gave orders that Antony should be informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why dost thou delay? What is life to thee when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou couldst wish to live?" He then went to his

chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he said, "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, for I shall soon be with thee; but I grieve to think that I who have been so distinguished a general should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then attended by a faithful servant, whose name was Eros. He had engaged this servant to kill him whenever he should think it necessary, and he now demanded that service. Eros drew his sword, as if he designed to kill him; but, suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master's feet! "This, Eros, was greatly done," said Antony; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his sword into his bowels, and threw himself on a couch that stood by. The wound, however, was not so deep as to cause immediate death; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those who stood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled, nevertheless, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, secretary to Cleopatra, came with her request that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that she was still living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accordingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened; but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was fastened to it, and she, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they who were present observed, could possibly be more affecting than that spectacle. Antony, covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoisted up by the rope, and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was suspended, for a considerable time, in the air? For it was with the greatest difficulty they drew

him up, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while those who stood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and seemed to partake in all the toil and all the emotions that she felt. When she had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as she stood over him she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and, wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, she called him her lord, her emperor, her husband! Her soul was absorbed in his misfortunes; and she seemed totally to have forgotten that she had any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured to soothe her as well as he was able, and called for wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drunk, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. As to himself he said, "that she ought rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness than to bewail his present misfortunes; since in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he was conquered." A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar; for, after Antony had stabbed himself and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetæus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword and showed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony's death he retired to the inner part of his tent and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs. He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared

that, though Cæsar had still written in a rational and equitable manner, the answers of Antony were insolent and contemptuous. After this, he despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible, for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to trust everything to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place he sent an account of it to Cæsar; upon which Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted: Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while, in the meantime, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window where the women had taken in Antony, and, having got in with two servants, he immediately made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive." She turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, the same instant attempted to stab herself; for to this intent she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expostulating with her as he held her in his arms, he entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar—that she would not deprive so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with

the greatest politeness, but, by all means, to bring her alive.

Cæsar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher; and that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnasium he ascended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that the city should not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the first place, it was built by Alexander; in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the sake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Cæsar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his request. Amongst these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition; upon which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloak, with a long white beard, crying constantly,

"The wise, if really such, will save the wise."

Cæsar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour as to save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor, Theodorus, and put to death. While the soldiers were beheading him the tutor stole a jewel of considerable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and

allowed them an honourable support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, had been sent by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through Æthiopia into India. But Rhodon, his governor, a man of the same principles with Theodorus, persuading him that Cæsar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Cæsar was deliberating how he should dispose of him, Arius is said to have observed that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Cæsars. However, soon after the death of Cleopatra he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend what she thought proper on the occasion. The excess of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breast, which was wounded by the blows she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was pleased to find an excuse in this for abstaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The physician, in whom she placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and, according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the necessary food and physic, he threatened to treat her children with severity. This had the desired effect, and her resolution was overborne.

A few days after, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on but a single bedgown, she arose and threw herself at his

feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore the marks of the injuries she had done it. In short, her person gave you the image of her mind, yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that grace, that spirit and vivacity which had so peculiarly animated her former charms, and still some gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance.

When Cæsar had replaced her on her couch, and seated himself by her, she endeavoured to justify the part she took against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight with Cæsar, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if she had been really desirous of life; and, at the same time, she put into his hands an inventory of her treasure. Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, accused her of suppressing some articles in the account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. Cæsar smiled at this spirited resentment, and endeavoured to pacify her: "But how is it to be borne," said she, "Cæsar, if while even you honour me with a visit in my wretched situation, I must be affronted by one of my own servants? Supposing I had reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, by whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæsar was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was willing to live. He therefore assured her, that whatever she had reserved she might dispose of at her pleasure, and that she might, in every respect, depend on the most

honourable treatment. After this, he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpose; but she deceived him.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her everything that passed, he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead: "It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they then were free; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner attended by a guard, lest in the transports of her grief she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honours she can pay thee; for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived; but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour I shall receive from thy country. Yet, if the gods of Rome have power or mercy left (for surely those of Egypt have forsaken us), let them not suffer me to be led in living triumph to thy disgrace! No!—hide me, hide me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to me."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and, after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon

after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he smiled, and bade them take some, but they refused; and not suspecting that the basket contained anything else, it was carried in. After supper Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and, ordering everybody out of the monument, except her two women, she made fast the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive style in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind, and despatched others. Her death, however, was so sudden, that, though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead, lying on her golden bed, and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of Cæsar's messengers said angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," said she, "and worthy a descendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some that an asp was brought in amongst the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it so that she might be bit without seeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted." Upon which she immediately held out her arm to it. Others say, that the asp was kept in a water vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm.

Nothing of this, however, could be ascertained; for it was reported likewise that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin that she wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poison on her body, nor was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea-sands opposite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others again have affirmed, that she had two small punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm.

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæsar was much disappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were, by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the fourteen last in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, some say fifty-six, when he died. His statues were all demolished, but Cleopatra's remain untouched; for Archibius, a friend of hers, gave Cæsar a thousand talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives seven children, whereof Antyllus, the eldest, only was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them as her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his son by Fulvia, so considerable with Cæsar, that, after Agrippa and the sons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his favour. Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus, had two daughters and a son named Marcellus. One of these daughters she married to

Agrippa; and the son married a daughter of Cæsar's. But as he died soon after, and Octavia observing that her brother was at a loss whom he should adopt in his place, she prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, so much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Drusus, the son of Livia, and son-in-law to Cæsar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and so likewise was Caius the son of Germanicus, who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death, together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madness of his conduct went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY COMPARED.

As Demetrius and Antony both passed through a variety of fortune, we shall consider, in the first place, their respective power and celebrity. These were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonus, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, had reduced all Asia during his son's minority. On the other hand the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of a military

character; yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his son, that son did not hesitate to aspire to the empire of Cæsar, and, without any title either from consanguinity or alliance, he effectually invested himself with all that he had acquired. At least, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himself. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucasus as far as the Caspian Sea. Even the less reputable parts of his conduct are so many testimonies of his greatness. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the daughter of Antipater, though there was a disparity in their years; while Antony's connection with Cleopatra was considered as a degrading circumstance, though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was superior to all the princes of her time, Arsaces excepted. Thus he had raised himself to such a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wished.

In Demetrius's acquisition of empire there was nothing reprehensible. He extended it only to nations inured to slavery, and desirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to slavery a people that had shaken off the yoke. Consequently the greatest of his actions, his conquest of Brutus and Cassius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wresting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, consulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garrisons from the cities; while Antony made it his boast that he had destroyed the assertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praised for his liberality and munificence;

in which, however, Demetrius is so far his superior that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antonywas honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus, but Demetrius buried every enemy he had slain, and sent back his prisoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and fell with too much ease into luxury and indulgence; but we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleasures. In his hours of leisure, indeed, he had his Lamia, whose office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to sleep, or amuse him in his play. When he went to war, his spear was not bound about with ivy, his helmet did not smell of perfume, he did not come in the foppery of dress out of the chambers of the women, the riots of Bacchus and his train were hushed, and he became, as Euripides says, "the minister of Mars." In short, he never lost a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be said of Antony. As in the pictures of Hercules we see Omphale stealing his club and his lion's skin, so Cleopatra frequently disarmed Antony, and while he should have been prosecuting the most necessary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the shores of Canopus and Taphosiris. So likewise, as Paris came from battle to the bosom of Helen, and even from the loss of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itself out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, married several wives, and treated them all with the greatest honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongst the Romans, had two wives at the same time. Besides, he banished her who

was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his house, to indulge a foreigner with whom he could have no legal connection. From their marriages, of course, one of them found no inconvenience, the other suffered the greatest evils.

In respect of their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modest. Historians tell us that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, because they had their procreative intercourse in public; but Demetrius had his courtesans, and dishonoured the matrons of Athens even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty seems to be inconsistent with sensual gratifications, he scrupled not to drive the most beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal designs. In short, Antony, by his amorous indulgences hurt only himself; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable; but Antony sacrificed his uncle to the sword of Cæsar that he might be empowered, in his turn, to cut off Cicero—a crime, the latter was, which never could be made pardonable had Antony even saved and not sacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accused of perfidy, in that one of them threw Artabazus in prison and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has some apology in this case, for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media. But Demetrius was suspected of laying a false accusation against Alexander, and of punishing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himself, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both lost their empire by their own fault, but by

different means. The former was abandoned by his people, the latter deserted his even whilst they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that by his conduct he lost the affection of his army; the fault of Antony, his desertion and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death; but Demetrius much less than Antony, for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, with a spirit that was truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakness and many disgraceful circumstances attending the death of Antony, but he effected it at last without falling into the enemies' hands.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side he is said to have been illegitimate, according to the following verse :—

> "Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon by name,
> My son enrols me in the lists of fame,
> The great Themistocles."

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But, be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates, which was appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother, Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of Lycomedæ ; for Simonides informs us that when a chapel of that family in

the ward of Phyle, where the mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burnt down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it and adorned it with pictures.

It appears, that when a boy he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His hours of leisure and vacation he spent, not like other boys, in idleness and play, but he was always inventing and composing declamations, the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his schoolfellows, so that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent: you will either be a blessing or a curse to your community." As for moral philosophy and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge and the administration of public affairs he received with an attention above his years: because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity, "'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Stesimbrotus, indeed, informs us that Themistocles studied natural philosophy both under Anaxagoras and Melissus. But in this he errs against chronology. For when Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it, and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention who say that Themistocles was a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom,

which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government and the practical part of political prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon, and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts, and passed from action to mere words, its professors, instead of sages, were called sophists. Themistocles, however, was conversant in public business when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth he was irregular and unsteady, as he followed his own disposition without any restraints. He lived in extremes, and those extremes were often of the worst kind. But he seemed to apologise for this afterwards, when he observed, that the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed. The stories, however, which some tell us, of his father's disinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself, because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy, seem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, just as the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this, their

disputes continued about public affairs : and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper, and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice ; not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprises, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that, though he was very young when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was everywhere extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments :—When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, "The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. "While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts, and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.

And, in the first place, whereas the Athenians used to share the revenue of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were masters of the sea. By seasonably

stirring up the resentment and emulation of his countrymen against these islanders, he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money a hundred galleys with three banks of oars were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them, that though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes, that Themistocles effected this in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed (to omit other proofs), Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land forces remained entire : and it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money, with a view to spend it profusely ; and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he

had need of a large supply ; yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness, and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened "he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house," enigmatically hinting that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house, hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon, in the elegance of his table, the splendour of his pavilions, and other expenses of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family ; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy, too, at his own expense, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success he put up this inscription, "Themistocles, the Phrearian, exhibited the tragedy, Phrynicus composed it, Adimantus presided." This gained him popularity ; and what added to it, was his charging his memory with the names of the citizens : so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the causes that were brought before him ; and Simonides of Ceos making an unreasonable request to him when archon, he answered, "Neither would you be a good poet, if you transgressed the rules of harmony ; nor I a good magistrate, if I

granted your petition contrary to law." Another time he rallied Simonides for "his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn, when he had so ill-favoured an aspect."

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides, by what is called the Ostracism.

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many (we are told), thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water. By a decree of the people, he put him to death, for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the demands of the barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite; who at his motion was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour, was his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia. In this he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he

endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But, many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting anything, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country, as far as Bœotia, following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majority were of opinion that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians begin the engagement, the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united, thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles, perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that if they behaved like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He therefore was desirous without loss of time to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he

considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this, the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negotiate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades. Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the sacred galley, who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw, he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning ; otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phanias the Lesbian.

Though the several engagements with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive, yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have anything dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium—

> "'Twas then that Athens the foundation laid
> Of Liberty's fair structure."

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiæa. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philocletes; where there is a small temple of Diana of the East, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. On one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:—

> "When on these seas the sons of Athens conquered
> The various powers of Asia, grateful here
> They reared this temple to Diana."

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which if dug into, shows towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burned.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium, when the confederates were informed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians, elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places appointed for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them in the ports and watering places, and had the following inscription engraved in large characters and addressed to the Ionians:—"Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in

time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocian cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And notwithstanding all the entreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as they had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the Isthmus, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present ; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety, when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude, set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place ; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received,

he told them that by wooden walls there could not possibly be anything meant but ships, and that Apollo now calling Salamis divine, not wretched and unfortunate, as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His counsels prevailed, and he proposed a decree that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships, and that every one should provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene, where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expense, for which purpose they allowed each of them two oboli a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of Areopagus distributed to every man who took part in the expedition, eight drachmas; which was the principal means of manning the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the Ægis was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked everything under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hidden among the baggage, which he applied to the public use: and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. "What pity! what admiration of the

firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind because of their extreme old age. And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leaped into the sea, and to have swum by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died immediately. And they show us to this day, a place called Synos Sema, where they tell us that dog was buried.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following:—

He perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive that out of revenge he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he therefore caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time, should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger, he proposed to set sail for the Isthmus, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said, "Do not you know, Themistocles, that in the public games, such as rise up before their

turn are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike, if you please, but hear me:" the Lacedæmonians admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say: and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him: "It ill becomes you, who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus: "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece, in these two hundred ships, which are here ready to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city, and as valuable a country as that they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart?"

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his arguments upon deck, some tell us that an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet, which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight; but no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious

armaments, began to forget the counsels of Themistocles, and the Poloponnesians once more looked towards the Isthmus. Nay, they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles, greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits, and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction, and a captive, but much attached to Themistocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him, that the commander of the Athenians having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole army.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages, and to enclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships, at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means (as has been related), he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy. Themistocles knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and entreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement

in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætius, came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but, according to Acestodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called Kerata, "the Horns." He was seated on a throne of gold, and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the meantime, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eyes upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims, while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus Omestes: for by this means the Greeks might be assured not only of safety, but victory.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up, as the soothsayer had directed. This

particular we have from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled "Persæ," as a matter he was well assured of :—

> "A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian flag obeyed : two hundred more
> And seven, o'erspread the seas."

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys : each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it ; for he would not engage the enemy till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which are low built and well compacted ; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy, for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks, who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly against him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the Decelean, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of

their brazen beaks; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia knew the body amongst others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession. A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the Æacidæ, to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the laurelled Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but a few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval achievement, either of the Greeks or barbarians, ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured, that his land forces might pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the

pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships; "For so," says he, "we may take Asia without stirring out of Europe." Aristides did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose:—"Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but awaked by danger, attempting everything, and present everywhere, he will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, provide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that is the case," said Themistocles, "we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation. How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when, with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Platæa.

Herodotus tells us, that, among the cities, Ægina bore

away the palm; but, among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most. For, when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar, to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told that, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings. For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not despatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, "Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles."

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said,

"Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late."

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect, but when a storm arose, or danger appeared, they sheltered themselves under him, as under a plane tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's," "True," answered Themistocles, "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable, "There once happened a dispute between the feast day and the day after the feast. Says the day after the feast, 'I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy at their ease everything ready provided.' 'You say right,' says the feast day, 'but if I had not been before, you would not have been at all. So, had it not been for me then, where would you have been now?'"

His son, being master of his mother, and by her means of him, he said, laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in everything, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add "that it had a good neighbour."

Two citizens courting his daughter, he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, "He had rather she should have a man without money,

than money without a man." Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself.

After the greatest actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens. Theopompus tells us he bribed the Lacedæmonian Ephori that they might not oppose it, but most historians say he overreached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence of an embassy to Sparta. The Spartans complained that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls, at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation; for the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus (having observed the conveniency of that harbour); by which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground; and to this purpose they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes the comic poet would have it, but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with

wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots.

Hence it was that the oratory in Pnyx, which was built to front the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants towards the land, for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit to be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only, and if he approved of it to put it in execution. Themistocles then informed him, "That he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ." Upon which, Aristides went and declared to the people, "That the enterprise which Themistocles proposed was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but at the same time the most unjust." The Athenians therefore commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the Amphictyons, to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive that, if the Thessalians, the Argives, and the Thebans, were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what decrees they pleased. He spoke, therefore, in defence of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design, by representing that

thirty-one cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were but of small consideration; that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all affairs of state and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disobliged the allies also, by sailing round the islands and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Adrians gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them "he brought two gods along with him, Persuasion and Force." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, Poverty and Despair, who forbade them to satisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles, and charges him with betraying him, though his friend and host, for money, while for the like paltry consideration he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses:—

"Pausanias you may praise, and you Xantippus,
And you Leutychidas: but sure the hero,
Who bears the Athenian palm, is Aristides.
What is the false, the vain Themistocles?
The very light is grudged him by Latona,
Who for vile pelf betrayed Timocreon,
His friend and host; nor gave him to behold
His dear Jalysus. For three talents more
He sailed, and left him on a foreign coast.
What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
That banishes, that sets the villain up,
To fill his glittering stores? while ostentation,
With vain airs, fain would boast the generous hand,
And, at the Isthmus, spreads a public board
For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet."

But Timocreon gave a still looser rein to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus :—

> "Muse, crowned with glory, bear this faithful strain,
> Far as the Grecian name extends."

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles for favouring the Persians. When, therefore, Themistocles was accused of the same traitorous inclinations, he wrote against him as follows :—

> "Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
> But yet not his alone : Another fox
> Finds the same fields to prey in."

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable ; and when they expressed their displeasure he said, "Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand ?"

Another offence he gave the people, was his building a temple to Diana, under the name of Aristobule, or "Diana of the best counsel," intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita where now the executioners cast out the bodies of those that have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of Diana Aristobule, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last the Athenians, unable any longer to bear that

high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the ostracism; and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burden to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the ostracism, or ten years' banishment, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of Envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of their rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos, the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason was Leopotes, the son of Alcmæon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and refused to have the least share in his designs; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hope of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him: and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him insisted on

the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, "That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent them with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra, the inhabitants of which had great obligations to him; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself if ever the Athenian should fall into his power. However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant, in a particular and extraordinary manner. He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition the Molossians look upon as the most effectual, and the only

one that can hardly be rejected. Some say the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested this method of supplication to Themistocles. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, that he might have a sacred obligation to allege, against giving him to those that might come to demand him.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet I know not how, forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia. But this is not probable. For Theophrastus, in his treatise on monarchy, relates that when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and set up a superb pavilion there. Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to run. Thucydides writes that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him till he was driven by storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship and the pilot who he was; and that partly by entreaties, partly by threatening he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered

and seized for the public use, Theopompus says amounted to a hundred talents; Theophrastus fourscore; though he was not worth three talents before his employments in the government.

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. He, therefore, retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days; and one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration—

"Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine."

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creeping up to his neck, which, as soon as it had touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and covering him with its wings, took him up and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning he was sent away by Nicogenes, who contrived this method for it: the barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women, even to madness; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines; for beside the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own family, they keep them like prisoners in their houses; and when they

take a journey, they are put in a carriage close-covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne. The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though that is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus, a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you, the thing most admired is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may he permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, "My business, Artabanus, is

to add to the king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with your customs, since the god that has exalted the Persians will have it so; and by my means the number of the king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hindrance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus, "shall we say you are? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself." So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes, in his treatise on riches, adds that Themistocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian, an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when, after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to show your generosity than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece." In hopes of influencing the king

by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him "to go to one who bore the same name with the god," from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, great kings.

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his friends, he felicitated himself upon this as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are told, also, that he prayed to Arimanius that his enemies might ever be so infatuated as to drive from amongst them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifices to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment—nay, that he was so affected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep he called out three times, "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

As soon as it was day he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, "Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee hither." However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he

had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry, which, when spread open, displays its figures, but when it is folded up they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased; and he desired a year; in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a-hunting, conversed familiarly with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the Magi.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state, with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, "Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be Jupiter, though you should take hold of his thunder." The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more

closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, "That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been." Nay, we are told that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children and said, "Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing." Most authors agree that he had three cities given him for bread, wine, and meat—Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. Neanthes of Cyzicus, and Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in the city called Leontocephalus, or "Lion's Head," now determined to put it in execution. But, as he lay sleeping one day at noon, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him, "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high road and took another way to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodgings beyond it, but as one of the horses that had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moonlight, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find

him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them, fell upon them and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele Dindymene, and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called Hydrophorus, or "the water-bearer," which he himself. when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to show the Athenians how much he was honoured, and what power he had all over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and by money prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia, where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the affairs of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and despatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then? No, neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals; and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own achievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity. Having, therefore, sacrificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood, as is generally reported, or as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, five sons—Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman, but a man of no merit in other respects.

Neocles, his eldest son, died when a child, by the bite of a horse ; and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half-brother ; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios ; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes, the Athenian ; and Nicomache, at Magnesia, to Phrasicals, the nephew of Themistocles, who, after her father's death, took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to friends that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air, for it is an artifice of his to exasperate the nobility against the people. Phylarchus, too, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, availing himself of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis as the sons of Themistocles, to make his story more interesting and pathetic ; but a very moderate degree of sagacity may discover it to be a fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes in his treatise of sepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that, near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus, the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the still water there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles, in the form of an altar. With him Plato, the comic writer, is supposed to agree in the following lines :—

" Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail :

"When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
Thy shade attending hovers o'er the fleet."

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magnesians to the descendants of Themistocles, which continued down to our times; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

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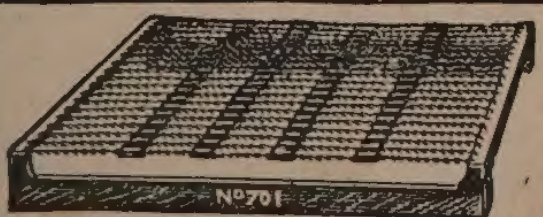

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